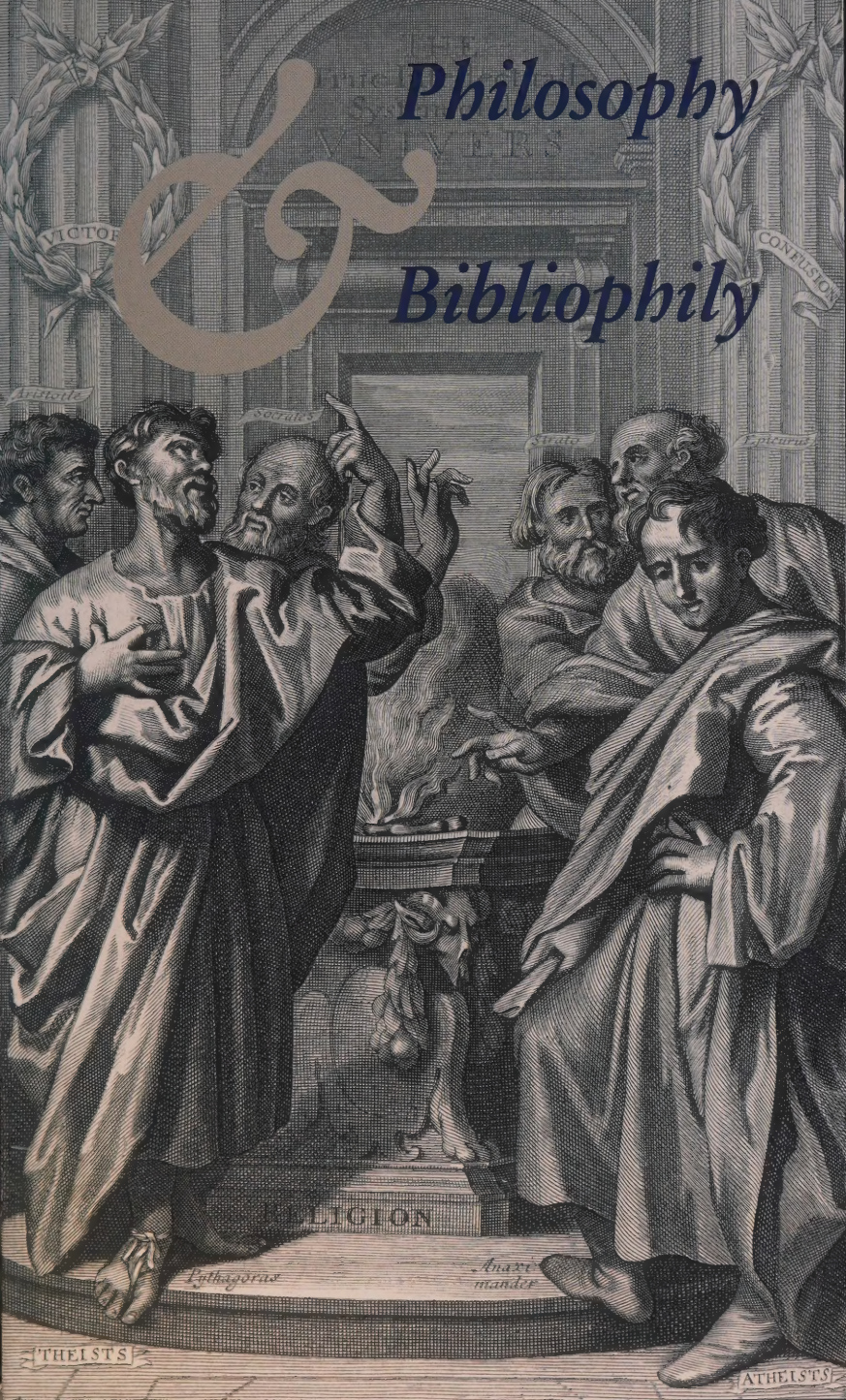
Philosophy & Bibliophily



PHILOSOPHY & BIBLIOPHILY

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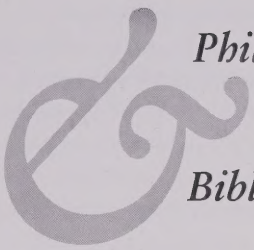

Philosophy & Bibliophily

An exhibition introducing the Walsh Philosophy Collection

exhibition and catalogue by F. Michael Walsh

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto
26 January – 30 April 2004

Catalogue and exhibition by F. Michael Walsh
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A NOTE ON THE TYPE

Jan Tschichold, who designed a number of typefaces for the Dutch foundry Enschedé, based the design of Sabon on punches cut by Claude Garamond around 1530 in Paris. He used a Garamond specimen of Jakob Sabon from Frankfurt and some drawings of Granjon's italic both included on the Egenolff-Berner sheet of 1592. The first Sabon, designed to be suitable for three typesetting systems – Monotype, Linotype and Stempel handset – were shown in 1962. Technical limitations were imposed by these systems (truncated *f, j, p,* and uniform roman italic width). In 1994 Jean François Porchez created a new typeface for *Le Monde*. He accepted the challenge to revive Sabon. It was released in 2003 by Linotype as Sabon Next. Porchez discovered that Tschichold was also aware of larger showings that were on a sheet '*Lettres de deux points de Petit Canon* by Guillaume II Le Bé'. Porchez made many refinements for digital setting and added a wide range of weights and alternate characters. This is the first Canadian publication set in Sabon Next.

PREFACE

The Walsh Philosophy Collection is one of the most important collections of books ever donated to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Historically the Fisher Library has always had strong collections in the history of philosophy, exemplified by our holdings of Aristotle, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire and the works of the Scottish Enlightenment. More recently the scope of the collections has been considerably expanded by the John Slater collections of Russell, modern British and modern American philosophy. The Walsh Collection significantly strengthens and enhances our holdings in all these areas and thus provides an even greater research resource for scholars of the present day and of the future.

Michael Walsh, as he eloquently explains in his introduction to this catalogue, has been able to practice a very sophisticated kind of bibliophily in his formation of this collection. He has paid close attention not only to the content of the books, but also to their physical attributes. Thus we have Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* printed in Barcelona in 1478 in a contemporary Spanish morocco binding, and this example is typical of the books throughout the collection. This feature adds a whole new dimension to the research possibilities inherent in the Walsh Collection for these books can be studied as part of the history of the book as well as texts in the history of philosophy.

There are many ways of measuring the importance of book collections, but one that has a more than usual validity is to compare it to a standard reference source. *Printing and the Mind of Man*, published in 1967 as the catalogue of an exhibition in London, had as its objective a conspectus of the impact of printing on the collective mind of western civilization and, not surprisingly, contained many philosophical works, citing always the first edition of each and ranging from 1467 to 1930. There are some sixteen PMM books in the Walsh collection.

With this exhibition and catalogue we celebrate a major acquisition

for the University of Toronto, the enlightened generosity of Michael and Virginia Walsh, and a grand bibliophilic achievement. The Walsh Collection will continue to grow and to provide research opportunities for generations to come.

Richard Landon
Director

WHY COLLECT PHILOSOPHY? A BRIEF ESSAY BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

F. Michael Walsh

At one time or another, nearly all serious collectors have been asked why they collect and, more often, why they collect what they collect. To the non-collector collecting of any kind seems odd, while to those of us who collect it seems more natural than many other aspects of our lives. I will leave explaining the psychological basis of this drive to others more qualified to account for it than I. However, even those who themselves collect, for instance collectors of art or furniture, sometimes are puzzled as to why one would want to collect books. After all, you can not visually admire them in the way you can impressionist paintings or Sheraton chairs; which I must grant is generally true for the type of book I collect, although not for some others, such as illustrated books. And, collecting books is unlikely to impress the uninitiated – I know of no serious book collector who has been driven by the prestige it might bring him or her, although this does happen, for instance, with art and furniture. As well, in most cases you can't be acquiring them for their utility, for the contents of a great many collected books are readily available in modern, inexpensive editions; but then a camp stool might serve its purpose better than a Sheraton chair. Be that as it may, answers to this narrower question, why people collect books, form an extensive and, in my view, both charming and not very convincing literature. Most attempts, as they say, "preach to the converted" and I know I have little to add.

I would rather say something in answer to a question that book collectors have posed to me: Why do you collect philosophy books? Naturally, collectors have a liking for their own special field, but, on the whole, we are a fairly accepting bunch. Nevertheless, I have often felt that behind that seemingly innocent question lay a more critical one: Why would anyone collect such dull and unprepossessing books as

these when he has the wherewithal to collect in more favoured fields: such as novels, poems & plays, or travels & voyages, natural history, or illustrated books?[1]

In the following, I will try to briefly answer that question, while also saying something about this exhibition and the literature of philosophy in general. Of necessity, the answer that I give is personal rather than advocatory – I am not trying to convince anyone that my collecting path is better than another, simply to explain why I took it.

I bought my first philosophy book, a cheap paperback anthology of Plato, when I was fifteen. Sadly, that book is no longer in my library, having been lost during one of several youthful moves. Reading Plato was a revelatory experience, especially discovering the strong linkage made between virtue and knowledge in the early Socratic dialogues. Here was something – the makings of a guide to life – that had potential for replacing the religious orthodoxy that I had recently rebelled against and was trying to leave behind. Although there is little in Plato to which I still subscribe, the influence of his ethical rationalism has remained.

Not surprisingly, when I reached university I chose philosophy as one of my majors. Eventually, many years later, I earned a doctorate in the subject, and I have never ceased doing philosophy, although the demands of making a living in a wholly different world limited how actively I could pursue it. My collecting of philosophy books is tied to this early interest in three ways. First, there is the rather obvious and not very interesting one that book collectors sometimes collect in an area where they have otherwise formed an interest or are active, for instance, doctors in the history of medicine. Second, related to but in contrast with this, many book collectors form libraries that allow a sort of vicarious engagement with an activity or a time that they cannot

1 That such collecting fields are more favoured is confirmed by the specialties of member firms of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association of America: 13 dealers list philosophy among their specialties, although for only 3 is it a primary interest and one of these is now largely inactive; in contrast, well over 100 dealers have literature as a specialty, 54 list travels & voyages, 22 natural history, and 78 illustrated books. Indeed, there are as many dealers for whom Trade Catalogs are a specialty as for Philosophy, a point that surely implies something less than praiseworthy in respect of our interest in our culture?

participate in: travels & voyages collected in our post-exploratory age, or children's books acquired as a way of attaining or recovering an idealized youth. For me, collecting philosophy books made it possible to share a world of thought and scholarship that I had cut myself off from because I had gone into business: it gave me a 'secret' life that compensated, in part, for the fact that occupation was never vocation in my case.

Be that as it may, the third reason for my collecting philosophy books is what may make my choice of this subject something of broader significance. Aristotle taught that philosophy satisfies a human need that arises from our natural wonder about the world and our place in it. Of course, that might be said of several disciplines. However, one aspect of philosophy that has always attracted me is the sheer difficulty and depth of major philosophical problems or questions: What is there? Where do we fit in? What can we know? Does God exist; if so, can we prove it? How can minds, which are immaterial, interact with bodies? How ought we to live? And so on. Questions such as these, if they once get a hold on you, can prove difficult to dislodge. But they are also ones where there has been minimal agreement as to answers. This has been a cause of rebuke by some scholars and laypersons, and also a source of embarrassment to many philosophers, particularly when they compare their discipline with the sciences where there is clear progress. While one can point to cases of progress in philosophy, on core problems there are almost no settled solutions. Indeed, the work of several great philosophers, for instance, Descartes, Locke, and Kant, is much concerned with recommending a particular approach or methodology that would steer philosophical effort and thus assure greater progress. But here too, one finds little agreement on right method, which itself becomes another philosophical problem. That key philosophical questions have gone unsolved – not unanswered, but unsolved – is something that chases many away, once they find that they will not find ready solutions to life's common quandaries. However, it is just this perennial, unyielding character of some philosophical questions that gives them that much more appeal for some, myself included.

This being the character of philosophy's past, contemporary

philosophers often will be found arguing about the very same questions that puzzled Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, some still prefer their ancient answers. Consequently, long-dead philosophers can be and are read as our contemporaries in a way that no other thinkers can be.

> *The writings of historical figures in philosophy – particularly the greatest such figures – are themselves consistently important objects of study as ongoing contributions to contemporary philosophical inquiry. And in this respect, the history of philosophy is an integral part of philosophy in a way that is unmatched by the case of any other field.* [2]

As much as we may admire Copernicus or Newton or Harvey for their contribution to their disciplines, and as much as we might take an historical interest in those contributions, no astronomer or physicist or anatomist would today search out their writings for an answer to a question currently posed in his or her field. Philosophy is not like that: although there is much in Aristotle that is now only of historical interest, for instance, his contributions to astronomy, physics, and physiology, there are still Aristotelians, in a sense in which there are no longer any Newtonians. That is, while Newton's classical physics has been superseded, in key ways, by relativity and quantum physics, there are those who would argue that Aristotle, in significant ways, has not. That being the case, his writings have a current utility in doing philosophy.[3] That is not to say that all philosophers take a lively interest in its past. Many do not, choosing instead to deal with philosophical problems in an exclusively contemporary idiom with little, if any, reference to the historical solutions offered in their discipline.[4]

2 Don Garrett, *Cognition and Commitment in Hume's Philosophy* (Oxford, 1997), p. 7.

3 An example: "This book is an exercise in the collegial approach to early modern philosophy, in which one studies the texts in the spirit of a colleague, an antagonist, a student, a teacher – aiming to learn as much philosophy as one can from studying them. I 'treat those who are great but dead as if they were great and living, as persons who have something to say to us *now*.'" Jonathan Bennett, *Learning from Six Philosophers* (Oxford, 2001), p. 1 and himself quoting H.P. Grice (1913-90).

4 Bennett provides an example: "look at the work of David Lewis, who is reckoned by many of us to be the most fruitful philosopher alive, and whose work is not visibly influenced by any knowledge of the history of philosophy." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

In contrast, even philosophers like myself, who prefer a consciously historical approach, recognize that there are areas where progress is obvious; for instance, we are far more likely to go to Aristotle for his ethics than for his logic, despite his being the greatest logician of the ancient world. Nevertheless, while the study of past philosophers does belong to the history of ideas, much of their work can have a current vitality that is not present in other subjects within the history of ideas – we don't read Gibbon or Clausewitz, for example, the way we read Locke or Hegel, although the former are equally great in their respective areas of thought.

It is this combination of antiquity and presentness that has not only spurred my love of philosophy, but also my desire to collect the key works of its literature in early editions. Indeed, philosophy is much like imaginative literature in this way. The lover of Dickens can get a special thrill from reading his work in parts. Similarly, it is particularly stirring for me to hold Kant's first book and wonder how different the history of thought would have been if he had never been able to publish it and thus ultimately to obtain a professorship at Königsberg. Or, Spinoza's *Ethics*, in which case I ask myself what we would have lost had the publisher Jan Rieuwertsz not had the courage to print the book in the face of the strong opposition to Spinoza's ideas among the powerful religious establishment of seventeenth century Amsterdam.

For me, the printing on some of these unprepossessing pages has the same sort of life that others find in brushwork on paintings, where no replica or copy will ever be quite the same. Of course, there is also much in the history of philosophy that is unlikely to be reprinted. Moreover, the judgments of any age can turn out to be badly founded. For instance, Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* was so poorly received that he believed it prudent to not publicly admit authorship of it until near the end of his life. Today, it is not only considered his greatest work, but one of the greatest works of philosophy. In Hume's own eighteenth century, the medieval philosophers were disdained, whereas in the last seventy-five years they have been rediscovered for the depth of their reasoning and the breadth of their interests. Given the obvious fallibility of the evaluative judgements we make at any given time, one is wont to ask: What answers or insights lie within the works of

philosophers whom we have largely forgotten or who never had a fair day at court because they worked outside the fashions of their time?[5]

We cannot answer this question if we do not have the physical evidence of philosophy's past. Nor, without it, can we offer scholars a chance to capture the unique historical mystique that I believe is there to be found. To do either, we need great research collections that will stimulate teaching and support the kind of in-depth scholarship that leads to a better understanding of the varied intellectual riches of our past. The Dutch historian of philosophy Piet Steenbakkers has commented aptly that

> *The history of philosophy can be construed in a number of divergent ways. What is often overlooked... is that thought materializes in history in the shape of an accumulation of texts. For interpretation, commentary, comparative analysis and the like to be possible at all, the historian of philosophy must first be sure to stand on firm ground. The existence of reliable critical texts, and a basic knowledge of how to handle these, is a precondition for the history of philosophy.*[6]

Of course, such scholarly work depends upon the availability of original texts.

For over a century the University of Toronto has had a strong tradition in the history of philosophy, and it is thus fitting that its principal rare book collection be strengthened in the field. Together with the other special collections in philosophy at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, and special collections in philosophy at some of the University's constituent colleges and affiliated institutes, it is my

5 W. J. Mander aptly makes the point regarding the fickleness of philosophical taste: "Philosophical reputations wax and wane as each new generation considers the problems of philosophy afresh, and rewrites its history in the light of how it sees matters. Though perhaps inevitable, this dynamic, which in other aspects of life goes under the name of fashion, rarely makes for good criticism. Distortions and misunderstandings occur, as thinkers are squeezed into preconceived categories dictated by a certain world-view, rather than being allowed to stand in their own right as individuals, often with complex and multiple allegiances, who resist capture under any one simple label." *An Introduction to Bradley's Metaphysics* (Oxford, 1994), p. v.

6 Piet Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica From Manuscript to Print* (Assen, 1994), p. 4.

family's hope that the Walsh Philosophy Collection will contribute to providing the required source material to satisfy the needs of future generations of Canadian and international scholars who use this great research library.

A few words about the Collection and the exhibition. The books I have given to the Fisher were drawn from a much larger working library formed over the last thirty-five years. At university I put together a better library than usual, but the budget of a scholarship student meant that buying a good edition usually meant going without lunch or dinner, sometimes both. Although I bought my first 'rare' book (an inexpensive 1674 English translation of Boethius' short *Consolation of Philosophy*) at the close of this student period, it was only when I began a career in the investment business that I had the means to purchase rare books in any number. Although I am now retired, I remain hopeful that I will be able to continue to strengthen the Collection.

Given that two thousand years passed between the time of the first western philosopher, Thales of Miletus (fl. early sixth cent. BCE), and Gutenberg's great invention, it is not surprising that philosophical works form a significant part of the manuscript tradition that provided a backlog for the new printer/publishers of the late fifteenth century. Incidentally, in spite of the fact that Thales may not have written anything, I have always thought of him as a sort of patron saint for my collecting, not because Plato credits him with the core philosophical maxim "Know thyself", or for the fact that he is widely believed to have predicted a solar eclipse in 585/4 BCE, but rather because he seems to have also had an investor's mind. In his *Politics* (1259a 9-19) Aristotle informs us that Thales

> *...was reproached for his poverty, which was supposed to show that philosophy was of no use. According to the story, he knew by his skill in the stars while it was yet winter that there would be a great harvest of olives in the coming year; so, having a little money, he gave deposits for the use of all the olive-presses in Chios and Miletus, which he hired at a low price because no one bid against him. When the harvest-time came, and many were wanted all at once and of a sudden, he let them out at any rate which he pleased, and made a quantity of money. Thus he*

showed the world that philosophers can easily be rich if they like, but that their ambition is of another sort.

The first printed book with significant philosophical content of which I am aware is Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologicae: Pars secunda, Secunda pars*, published in Strasbourg by Johann Mentelin no later than 1463 (although a strictly religious work of Thomas' was published as early as 1459 in Mainz). The earliest work in my own collection is the first edition of the *prima pars* of the same *Summa Theologicae*, published by Albertus de Stendal in Padua in 1473. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were largely devoted to publishing books such as this, which made available to a wider audience of scholars the standard works of ancient and medieval thought, often together with commentaries by living authors; and this is reflected in the oldest books in this Exhibition.

In the seventeenth century, however, we see the output of a more fertile period of original philosophical thinking. Authors such as Bacon, Campanella, Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Leibniz, Locke, and Spinoza have a much more modern cast of mind than most of those writing in the prior two centuries. With the onset of the Enlightenment and into the eighteenth century the volume of philosophical publishing explodes, with figures such as Berkeley, Hume, Rousseau, and Kant. It is interesting to note, because it is so unlike our own time, that few of the great philosophers of the post-medieval period were academics. Therefore, they wrote not only for students and those who taught them, but also for educated laypersons like themselves. Indeed, Kant, who taught in the second half of the eighteenth century, is the first truly great modern philosopher who followed a conventional academic career. Sadly, by the close of the nineteenth century, serious philosophical writing found few readers outside of the academy, and this phenomenon accelerated in the twentieth century as the subject became more technical and specialized.

Today, unless it was a subject of study at university, the average well-educated layperson would have a hard time naming a living philosopher, though many will have at least a vague notion of Plato, Aristotle, and certain other names from the distant past. Although most bookstores have a philosophy section (or shelf), one often has the feeling

that it is only because they feel they should have it, rather than because of any actual appreciation of the literature of the subject or strong demand from their patrons. Indeed, for someone well-versed in that literature, it often borders on the comical to see what authors and books make their way onto those shelves.

A final word about the selection of materials for the exhibition. Because space permits only a small fraction of the Collection to be shown at one time, it has been difficult to decide which books to display. Appended to this catalogue is a selective list of the Collection holdings. Perusing it may help one to appreciate how hard choosing the items to display has been. Having said that, several principles have guided my choices: first, although philosophy has few 'pretty books', there are many early books with fine printing, beautiful bindings, or other visual treats that merit exhibition; second, philosophy has its 'high-spots' and one could not give a flavour for its historical development, or the character of the Collection, without including a significant number of these; third, there are some items which although not the major works by their authors are nonetheless extremely rare and so this is one of the few chances that they can be seen; fourth, some choices simply reflect my personal perspective on how to convey some of the life, charm, and vitality of the philosophical tradition.

Despite every effort to squeeze as much as possible into the display cases, however, the exhibition could only retain its integrity if I curtailed its range. I did this by stopping with the first work of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), indeed, by including extremely few books published after 1870. Unfortunately, this distorts the historical picture considerably, as this post-1870 period is one in which philosophy has flourished both in numbers and in quality and originality of thought. Consequently, it has meant that interesting and important late nineteenth and twentieth century books held in the Collection, such as Frege's *Grundlagen* (1884) and *Grundgesetze* (1893, 1903), Moore's *Principia Ethica* (1903), Whitehead & Russell's *Principia Mathematica* (1910-13), Husserl's *Ideen* (1913), Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (1927), privately circulated typescripts of Wittgenstein's *Blue Book* (1933-4) and *Brown Book* (1934-5), Popper's *Logik der Forschung* (1935), Ayer's

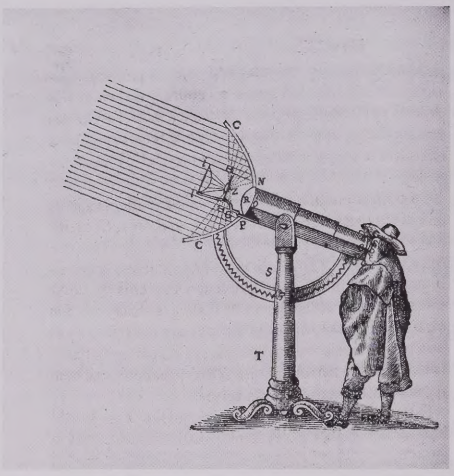
Language, Truth & Logic (1936), and Sartre's *L'Etre et la Neant* (1943), to mention just several books, have been left out. I can only hope that at some later time these books can be exhibited, perhaps in conjunction with items from the uniquely comprehensive collection of this post-1870 period donated to the Fisher by my good friend Professor John Slater.

The exhibition and catalogue are arranged in roughly chronological order. It is not strictly so, because up to about 1600 the chronology is determined primarily by when books were first printed (not written). Thereafter, the order is mostly set by the dates when a particular philosopher flourished. In the first case, this means that Plato comes after Aquinas, because that is the order of printing. This approach allows for serving the interests of those interested in the history of printing. In the second, a transition is made to telling the story of philosophy in its natural order, and the descriptions I have written for each item try to do that in some part, while also conveying details about the content and bibliographical importance of each book. However, in reading these, allowance should be made for the inevitable skips and jumps in that history that are due to the vicissitudes of the selection process and the limited scope of the format.

In closing I would like to thank my many friends in the international bookselling community, some of whom have championed philosophy as a collecting field under difficult circumstances, for their efforts in finding and bringing good material to my attention. Although booksellers naturally feel a sense of loss when a book comes to its final place of rest in an institution, I am confident that they will agree that *their* books have found a good home at the University of Toronto. I would also like to thank the Director and staff of the Fisher Library for their assistance in mounting this exhibition. Most importantly, I would like to thank my long-suffering wife Virginia for her patience with a husband who could rarely pass a bookshop without going in and for her understanding of the importance of the pursuit.

Abbreviations of bibliographical references used in the Catalogue:

DNB – *Dictionary of National Biography*
DSB – *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*
DI8BP – *Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers* (ed. Yolton et al)
DI9BP – *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century British Philosophers* (ed. Mander et al)
EP – *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (ed. Edwards)
ESTC – *English Short-Title Catalogue*
IBE – *Incunables en Bibliotecas Españolas*
ISTC – *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*
NUC – *National Union Catalogue*
PMM – *Printing and the Mind of Man* (ed. Carter & Muir)
REP – *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (ed. Craig)
RLIN – *Research Libraries Information Network*
STC – *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England... 1475-1640* (Second edition)



17 Diagram of a telescope from the discourse entitled "La dioptrique" from Descartes, *Discours de la methode*, 1673

ITEMS DISPLAYED IN THE EXHIBITION

1 Thomas Aquinas. *Summa theologicae, pars prima*. [Padua]: Albertus de Stendael, 5 October 1473.

Thomas Aquinas (1224/25-1274) was educated at Naples, Paris, and Cologne, later holding the Dominican chair of theology at Paris. He was an extremely prolific writer. This *summa*, or comprehensive manual of theology, was the primary occupation of the last seven years of his life. Thomas said that he wrote it "for the formation of beginners" in theology, but, if so, their intellectual gifts must have been great for it is a work of monumental depth and sophistication. Although theological in intent, it contains much philosophy as one of its major themes is the delineation of those things that we can know by natural reason without the aid of divine revelation. Thomas also wrote several major commentaries on the works of Aristotle, but it is here that he is said to have baptised Aristotle into the Christian faith.

The *Summa* is divided into three parts: the first, as here, treats of the existence, nature, attributes and relations of God, including the physical universe; the second, itself in two parts, concerns man and the chief ends of man, including an in-depth treatment of psychology and ethics; and the third, which was completed only after Thomas' death according to his plan, deals with Christ, God, and man. The three parts were first published at different dates and by different publishers, a collected edition not appearing until 1485. This is the first edition of the first part of the *Summa*, edited by Franciscus de Neritono. That it is the first edition of this part now seems clear, although Hain gave priority to an undated edition by Ulrich Zel of Cologne which was once dated to ca. 1468, but is now known to have been published ca. 1473-74.

For the bibliographer, the book has typographical interest in that it is one of the earliest to carry printed signatures, a practice associated with Padua. It is quite uncommon, no copy having appeared at auction in England or America since 1914, and the ISTC records just twenty copies outside of Italy.

2 Thomas Aquinas. *Summa contra gentiles, sive, De veritate catholicae fidei contra errores gentilium*. Romae: Arnoldus Pannartz, 20 September 1475.

It is widely thought that Thomas was asked by his Dominican superiors to write a work "against the errors of the infidels" to be used by Dominican missionaries preaching against Moslems, Jews, and heretical Christians in Spain (Aragon) and North Africa. The result was this *Summa* in four books. The common view is that Thomas began writing it at Paris toward the end of his third year of teaching as master (1258-59), but it is not certain how much of the treatise he completed at Paris, the balance being written up to 1264 in Naples and Orvieto.

This, the first dated edition of the *Summa contra gentiles*, from the press of Pannartz, proto-typographer of Italy, is one of a small number of books that he printed on his own after the breakup of his partnership with Conrad Sweynheym. The edition is preceded only by an undated edition (Strasbourg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis), a copy of which belonging to the Dominicans of Vienna was apparently rubricated in 1474, other copies at Munich and Kremsmünster have purchase or rubrication dates of 1475 and the Pierpont Morgan copy was rubricated in 1476. This edition, however, based on the number of recorded copies (about one-half), seems to be significantly scarcer than that of Strasbourg.

It is in an Italian binding of diced russia and gilded (1780), deliberately stilted (presumably to allow the volume to range on the shelf with taller neighbours); sides elaborately panelled with stylised floral rolls, etc. at the corners an armorial device (a crowned lion rampant), probably for a member of the Rossi family. The likely Rossi provenance of this volume is particularly intriguing because Thomas' mother, Dame Theodora, belonged to the Rossi branch of the Neapolitan Caracciolo family (cf. Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*. p. 3). It is possible that it was once part of the library of Giovan Francesco de Rossi, a Roman nobleman and bibliophile, who formed a great library (it included 2,500 incunabula and 1,200 manuscripts) that was seized by the Austrian Emperor in 1870, before eventually returning after World

War I to Rome where since 1921 it has formed the *Fondo Rossiano* of the Vatican Library.

It is very rare, the ISTC records just nine copies outside of Italy.

3 Thomas Aquinas. *Commentum in libros politicorum Aristotelis*. Apud Barchinonam [Barcelona]: Petrus Brunus & Nicholaus Spindeler, 19 December 1478.

This is the first edition of Thomas' commentary on the *Politics* of Aristotle, completed by Petrus de Alvernia (i.e. Peter of Auvergne) and here edited by Joannes Ferrarius. In it Thomas accepts that the State possesses a positive function of its own: it existed before the Church and, as a national institution, it must co-exist with the Church, exercising its own function, the promotion of the common good. Following Aristotle, he describes society as a mutual exchange of services for the sake of a good life to which many callings contribute, the farmer and the artisan by supplying material goods, the priest by prayer and religious observance, and each class by doing its own proper work. It was probably written 1270-72 and does not extend beyond Book III, Chapter 8 of the *Politics*, although references within it and elsewhere evidence Thomas' familiarity with all of the *Politics*.

It is apparently the seventh book printed in Barcelona. This press seems to have produced only two works: this, and the first edition of Thomas' commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* which was printed in June 1478. The colophon of this copy, as in the British Library copy, is dated 19 December 1478, whereas in other copies it is dated a day earlier – this variant is not noted in the ISTC.

In a contemporary Spanish (probably Catalonian) reddish- brown goatskin over unbevelled boards; sides tooled in blind.

The book is extremely rare, there being only eleven recorded copies; IBE locates six in Spanish institutions; ISTC adds three in Italian institutions, including the Vatican Library; there is a copy in the British Library; and one at the University of Illinois.

4 John Duns Scotus. *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*. Venetijs [Venice]: Iohannes de Colonia & Iohannes Manthen, ca.1476.

One of Thomas Aquinas' most able critics was Duns Scotus (ca. 1266-1308). He was born in the border district of Scotland, educated by the Franciscans at Oxford, and later taught at Oxford and Paris. At the time, theological students were taught according to the sequence of topics in Peter Lombard's four books of *Sententia*, or opinions, a twelfth century synthesis of the views of the Church Fathers. More advanced study involved commenting on these *Sentences*, which comments were often later worked into published books as here. Scotism became the chief rival to Thomism in the late-medieval period and differed considerably regarding faith and reason, realism versus nominalism, intellect and will, as well as other issues.

This is the only known copy printed on vellum, which is very rare for a scholarly work of this kind. The illumination is English and contemporary, which makes it interesting to speculate as to its original owner. It was edited by the Augustinian friar Thomas Penketh (d. 1487) who since 1474 had been in Italy teaching at Padua but who returned to England in 1477. It is possible that this is a special presentation copy he brought to his patron when he returned to England. In the early 1480s, Penketh attached himself to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, preaching in his favor against the children of Edward IV, but he later fell into disfavour. He was thought in his time to have a unique knowledge of the work of Scotus, editing his commentaries on all four books of the *Sentences*. The editions of Books 1-3 by these printers are dated 1477-78, but this on Book 4 is thought to have been the first off the press based on typographical evidence. Evidence, if it existed, of its original ownership was lost when it was rebound by Riviere in the 1920s. Formerly in the collection of Estelle Doheny.

5 John Duns Scotus. *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam; De primo principio; Theoremata*. Edited by Mauritius Hibernicus, with his Castigations. Venetijs: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 20 November 1497.

—— *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*. With anonymous additions, edited by Philippus Bagnacavallus, dedicatory letter to Franciscus Sampson. Venetijs: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 18 December 1497.

—— *Quodlibeta. Edited by Philippus Bagnacavallus*. Venetijs: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 3 February 1497/8.

A remarkable sammelband of three volumes all dating from the same press and year and constituting the first collected edition of Scotus' most important works, and with an exceptional provenance:
I: The first edition of his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Written in Scotus' youth it is nonetheless important to understanding the formation of his thought. This volume also contains the first editions of his *De principio* and *Theoremata*. Mauritius Hibernicus, the editor and a major Scotist scholar, was better known as Maurice O'Fihely (d. 1513). A native of Cork, he studied at Oxford, became Regent of the Franciscan Schools in Milan in 1488, Regent Doctor of Theology in Padua in 1491, and the Archbishop of Tuam.
II: Scotus' most important work, commonly known as the *Opus Oxoniense*. Cast in the form of a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, it displays Scotus' thought and brilliance to the fullest extent. This is the first edition edited by Philippus Bagnacavallus. There are four earlier editions: Venice, 1477/8; Nuremberg, 1481; Venice, 1481; and Venice 1490.
III: Scotus' last work and a definitive source for his thought. Again, the first edition edited by Philippus Bagnacavallus. There are five earlier editions: Padua 1474; Venice 1477; Nuremberg 1481; Venice, 1481; and Venice 1490.

This copy is from the library of the German humanist theologian Johannes Fabri (1478-1541), with his ownership inscription at the begin-

ning, "Pro Ioanne Fabri canonico Basiliense et vicario Constantiense", and on the final blank leaf a long list of philosophical questions debated by his students, "Posiciones ex omni facultate disputatae sub praestantissimo viro Ioanne fabri juris pontifici doctore celeberrimo Anno virginei partus 1512 in oppido Lindow." Fabri, a leading churchman and scholar, had a distinguished career in many respects, but what is perhaps most relevant here is that he was known among his humanist friends as a prominent Scotist. He was a supporter of the reforms of Erasmus, but a prominent opponent of Luther and Zwingli. In addition to his being the court preacher to the Emperor Ferdinand he spent the last ten years of his life as the Bishop of Vienna.

In a contemporary binding of blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards; author's name "Io. Scotus" stamped at head of upper cover; contents of volume lettered on fore-edge; original vellum index tabs preserved.

6 William of Ockham. *Expositio aurea super totam artem veterem*. Bononiae [Bologna]: Benedictus Hectoris [Marcus de Benevento], 12 July 1496.

Together with the *Summa totius logicae*, the *Expositio aurea*, or *Golden Exposition*, forms the core of the logical work of William of Ockham (ca. 1285-1347/9), arguably the most influential philosopher of the fourteenth century. He studied at Oxford, lecturing there 1317-19, afterwards he taught in London. The *Expositio* was written between 1321 and 1324, before his Avignon period (after being charged with heresy in 1323 he was sent by Pope John XXII to Avignon in 1324 where he remained for four years before fleeing to the protection of King Ludwig of Bavaria), that is, before Ockham's prime interest shifted from philosophy and theology to politics and church governance. It contains the first editions of his three important commentaries on the beginning books of logic, respectively on: (a) Porphyry's *Isagoge* or introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*; (b) Aristotle's *Categories* itself: and (c) Aristotle's *De interpretatione* or *On Interpretation*; which together provide key elements of Ockham's own epistemology and logic.

Of great rarity, the ISTC records only two copies outside of the Continent, one at Glasgow University and the other at the Free Library of Philadelphia.

7 Augustine. *De civitate Dei contra paganos libri XXII. Cum commentariis Thomae Valois et Nicolai Triveth, neccon additionibus Jacobi Passavantii atque theologicis veritatibus Francisci Maronis.* Basileae [Basel]: Printed by Adam Petri...for Koberger ..., 15 August 1515.

—— *De summa Trinitate libri XV. Cui theologicae veritates Francisci Maronis connectuntur.* Basileae: Printed by Adam Petri... for Koberger..., 19 May 1515.

Aurelius Augustinus, or Augustine (354-430), was the first of the great Christian theologian/philosophers. Until Thomas Aquinas he had the field largely to himself, and his influence was also great during the seventeenth century and has remained strong until this day. The sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 led Augustine to reappraise the Empire's place in the divine providential plan. Salvation, instead of being determined by the non-eternal fate of Rome, was tied to the fate of the eternal city of God. While the state might secure temporal peace and other worldly matters, citizens of the eternal city will want and require much more.

This edition of *De civitas Dei* has the commentaries of the English Dominican scholars Nicholas Trevet (ca. 1258-1334 or later) and Thomas Waleys (ca. 1287-1349 or later), as well as additional comments by the French Franciscan François de Meyron (d. after 1328). The text was edited and collated and seen through the press by the German Cistercian humanist Conrad Löwenberg (ca. 1465-1511), active as a teacher in Maulbronn. His star pupil was Johann Amerbach, and it seems to be through him that he established links with the Basel printers who commissioned introductory texts from him.

Together, two works in one volume; bound in tooled pigskin over oak boards with two clasps, binding dated 1519. The red and black type

of the title page is surrounded by a broad ornamental border by Urs Graf (with his monogram VG), with Adam Petri's device in the lower centre. On the title verso is a fine, full-page woodcut, first used by Amerbach in a 1489 edition (Schreiber 3393). It is divided into two parts – the upper half shows St. Augustine at his desk, writing; the lower half shows two cities divided by a river – to the left Syon, guarded by angels, to the right Babylon, guarded by devils. The book is also an outstanding piece of typography, in which the difficult problem of placing several commentaries next to their pertinent text in a handy and aesthetically pleasing format has been solved for each page with exceptional skill and elegance.

8 Proclus. *In Platonis Timaeon commentariorium Procli libri quinq[ue] ... et in eiusdem Politicen difficiliorum quaestionem omnium enarratio.* Basileae: Joan Valderum, 1534.

Proclus (ca. 410-485), although born at Constantinople, was sent to school in Lycia, Alexandria, and then Athens. There he studied with Plutarch of Athens and Syrianus, eventually himself becoming head of the Platonic School. He devoted his life to expounding the doctrines of the Neo-Platonists by writing and teaching. His literary activity manifested itself primarily in highly influential commentaries on Plato's works, in which Neo-Platonism is reduced to a precise and systematic form. In this instance, we have the first edition of his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. It was edited by Simon Grynaeus (1493-1541), sometime professor of Greek at Heidelberg and Basel, who obtained the Proclus manuscripts in England where he was also welcomed into Sir Thomas More's house. As a result, he dedicated this edition, which was published with Plato's *Opera omnia* (the second Greek edition after the 1513 edition of Aldus, also in the Collection but not exhibited), to John More, Thomas' son. It was only Erasmus' intervention which prevented the ex-Chancellor himself from being the dedicatee, which, on account of Grynaeus' known Protestantism and More's by then precarious position, would have constituted a grave if not fatal embarrassment.

9 Aristotle. *The Ethiques of Aristotle, that is to saye, preceptes of good behavoure and perfighte honestie, now newly translated into English*. London: Richard Grafton, 1547.

This is the first edition of any of Aristotle's (384-322 BCE) works in English. The translation is by John Wilkinson from a Latin summary by the early renaissance philosopher and scholar Brunetto Latini (ca. 1210-ca. 1294), Dante's friend and counselor. All that seems to be known of Wilkinson is that he served as tutor to the children of Edward Stanley, 3rd Earl of Derby (1509-72) to whom the translation is dedicated. His one other publication, a translation of Luis de Avila's *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania*, is also dedicated to the Earl of Derby.

It is a very rare book, STC recording just seven copies: two in England; British Library, Stonyhurst (imperfect); and five in America; Folger, Huntington, Boston Public Library, Harvard (imperfect), and Yale.

10 Plato. *La Republica... Tradotta dalla lingua Greca nella Thoscana dall'eccellente phisico Messer Pamphilo Fiorimbene da Fossembrone. Con gli argomenti per ciascun libro, & con la tavola di tutte le cose piu notabili, che in quelli si contengono*. In Vinegia [Venice]: Appresso Gabriel Giolito et Fratelli, 1554.

Perhaps no work of philosophy has been more read than Plato's (427-347 BCE) *Republic*. This, however, is the first translation of the *Republic* into any modern language. The translator, who provides a preface, was Pamfilo Fiorembene, a doctor and philosopher. There is also a nineteen page introduction dedicated to "Francesco Clemente nobile fiorentino." That the *Republic* was not translated into a modern language until a century after the introduction of printing testifies to the conservatism of both the publishing and intellectual establishments.

11 Plato. *Le premier, second et dixieme livre de Justice, ou de la Republique de Platon. Quatre Philippiques de Demosthene. Sermon de Theodorite evesque de Cyropoli ancien philosophe & theologien, de la providence & justice divine.* A Paris: Sebastien Nyvelle, 1555.

Apparently the first appearance of Plato in French. The translator was Louis Le Roy, appointed professor of Greek at Collège Royal in 1572. His translation of the complete *Republic* appeared in 1600. An Italian translation of the *Republic* had appeared the prior year (see preceding), but no other vernacular translation was to appear until the eighteenth century; for example, the first English edition was published in London in 1763.

Very rare, NUC reports only the Harvard and Columbia copies.

12 Francis Bacon. *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane. To the King.* London: Printed for Henrie Tomes, 1605.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), lawyer, parliamentarian, and essayist, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge before enrolling at Gray's Inn to study law. He entered parliament in 1584 and held various political and judicial offices: solicitor general, attorney general, lord keeper, and lord chancellor. He was knighted in 1603 and made Lord Verulam in 1618, and Viscount St. Albans in 1621. His political career ended ignominiously in that year when he confessed to bribery. Throughout his public career he was preoccupied with philosophy, and particularly with the question of an appropriate new method of investigation that would be more effective in obtaining knowledge than the methods of the past. His mature thought is naturalistic and materialistic.

The first edition of Bacon's *magnum opus*, *The Advancement of Learning*, in which he reveals his new scientific method: science is to be experimental and factual rather than speculative and philosophical. This was in contrast to the perceived view of Aristotelian and

Scholastic thought, and had a profound influence upon the thought of Locke, Leibniz, Boyle, and many others. The book complements the already very extensive Bacon collection held by the Fisher Library.

13 Sextus Empiricus. *Opera quae extant. Magno ingenii acumine scripti, Pyrrhoniarum hypotyposeon libri III ... Henrico Stephano interprete ... Adversus mathematicos libri X ... Gentiano Herveto Aurelio interprete, Graecè nunc primùm editi...* Aurelianae [Orleans]: Pierre & Jacques Chouet, 1621.

First edition of the Greek text of this major codification of Pyrrhonian scepticism by Sextus Empiricus (fl. ca. 200 CE). The first work is translated by Henri Estienne (his Latin translation was first published in 1562) and the second by Gentien Hervet (first published in a Latin edition of Sextus in 1569). Hallie comments that Sextus'

> *extant works constitute the only lucid, and firsthand summary of Greek scepticism available to us. They are usually divided into two works, the* Outlines of Pyrrhonism (Hypotyposes) *and the* Against the Dogmatics (Adversus Mathematicos). *The* Hypotyposes *seems to be a compilation of introductory lectures, explicit and simple in nature. It is divided into three books, the first defines the key terms of skepticism, while the two others make use of these terms to attack dogmatism (especially the dogmatism of the Stoics). Noteworthy here is the attack on the validity of the syllogistic proof. Sextus tried to show that any syllogism is an example of a vicious circle, since the truth of a conclusion (for example, 'Socrates is mortal') must already be known if the truth of the major premise ('All men are mortal.') has been ascertained... The* Adversus Mathematicos *contains 11 books, five of which use the method defined and exemplified in the* Hypotyposes *in order to refute 'philosophers' (logicians, physicists, and ethicists), and six of which use that method to refute 'scientists' (grammarians, rhetoricians, geometricians, arithmeticians, astronomers, and musicians)* (Pjilip Hallie, EP VII, 427).

Following Sextus' works are a *Life of Pyrrhon*, in Greek and Latin, derived from Diogenes Laertius, and Galen's *De optimo docendi genere*,

an attack on scepticism, here printed in the Greek original accompanied by a Latin translation by Erasmus, first published in 1626. At the end are seventeen double-columned pages of annotations by Henri Estienne on the *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*.

14 Tommaso Campanella. *Atheismus triumphatus seu Reductio ad religionem per scientiarum veritates*. Romae: Heirs of Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1631.

Campanella (1568-1639) was a theologian, philosopher, and poet. He joined the Dominicans in 1582. He was twice censured by his superiors for holding views similar to those of Bernardino Telesio (1509-88), a natural philosopher who rejected Aristotelian doctrines in favour of a system based on sense experience and nature. Campanella was tortured by the Inquisition in 1594, imprisoned at Rome, and forced to retract. He was again arrested in 1599 for conspiring to replace Spanish rule in southern Italy with a utopian republic. Freed in 1626 he was quickly reimprisoned by the Holy Office, and eventually released by Pope Urban VIII, for whom he performed protective magical rites. He was also a vocal supporter of Galileo and ultimately fled to Paris in 1634, obtaining the patronage of Richelieu, where he died.

Atheismus triumphatus is his radical apology for Christianity. It takes the form of an invective against atheistic naturalism and the Machiavellian doctrine of the secular state. He wrote the work in 1605-07 while imprisoned in the dungeon of Castel Sant'Elmo, but it was not published until 1631, during Campanella's short period of freedom. However, the edition was quickly sequestrated because of ecclesiastical censure, and thus is quite rare. The work was republished later in the decade, in Paris, after Campanella escaped.

Early ownership entry at head of title of the Minims of Laon and early stamp of the Dominicans of Poitiers.

15 Tommaso Campanella. *Philosophiae rationalis partes quinque... Grammatica, Dialectica, Rhetorica, Poetica, Historiographia, iuxta propria principia*. Parisiis [Paris]: Jean & Toussaint du Bray, 1637-1638.

As the original manuscripts of Campanella's *Poetica* and *Rhetorica*, written 1593-96 in Rome and Padua respectively, are now lost, this book is their only extant source. He rewrote the *Dialectica* in 1612, adding the *Grammatica* and *Historiographia*, and completed his manuscript by 1618; however, he was unable to obtain papal approval for publication until 1628, and failed to find a printer in Italy. The appearance of the book was thus delayed for another decade until du Bray accepted the contract in Paris.

16 Pierre Gassendi. *Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii : qui est De vita, moribus, placitisque Epicuri : continent autem placita, quas ille treis statuit philosophiae parteis : I. Canonicam nempe, habitam Dialecticae loco : II. Physicam, ac imprimis nobilem illius partem Meteorologiam : III. Ethicam, cuius gratiâ ille excoluit caeteras.* Lvgdvni [Lyon]: Apud Gvillelmvm Barbier, 1649.

Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655) was born in Provence but died in Paris. He received a doctorate in theology in 1614 and was ordained two years later. Gassendi was a polymath: philosopher, theologian, experimental physicist, astronomer, and noted humanist. He was appointed to a chair in mathematics, which included astronomy, at the Collège Royal. Gassendi traveled widely and became acquainted with, among others, Mersenne, Hobbes, and Pascal, and corresponded with Descartes and Galileo. He was the seventeenth century's most prominent advocate of Epicureanism, which he attempted to Christianize, especially its empiricist epistemology and atomist ontology. Like Epicurus, Gassendi claimed that the world consists of indivisible atoms moving in a void; however, unlike him, he believed that these atoms were created by God whose divine providence governed the world rather

than blind chance. He also differed in arguing for an immortal soul. He reinterpreted Epicurus' ethical doctrines by saying that God endowed humans with free will and a desire for pleasure, thus by seeking it in their choices and actions they were carrying out God's providential plans. His ideas, particularly his theory of knowledge which argued that sensation can lead only to probabilistic conclusions, strongly influenced the development of British empiricism.

This is the first edition, published in Lyons, of one of the more important works of seventeenth century philosophical scholarship, which was much abridged in his *Opera omnia* of 1658. Gassendi was personally acquainted with the De Thou family, noted book collectors, to whom this copy belonged (arms on binding).

17 René Descartes. *Discours de la methode pour bien conduire sa raison, & chercher la verité dans les sciences : plus La dioptrique, Les meteores, et La geometrie : qui sont des essais de cete methode.* A Leyde [Leiden]: De l'imprimerie de Jan Maire, 1637.

René Descartes (1596-1650) was born in the French town of La Haye (now named Descartes in his honour), but died in Stockholm while attending to the intellectual needs of Queen Christina. He was educated at the Jesuit College of La Flèche, before receiving a degree in law from Poitiers in 1616. He then served briefly in the army of Prince Maurice of Nassau, before retiring to work on mathematics, physics, and philosophy. After moving to the Netherlands, he matriculated at Leiden in 1630, but lived in multiple locations, making only few and brief visits to his homeland. He composed the *Rules for the Direction of the Mind* ca. 1618-28, but it was not published until 1684. He had written *The World*, which argued for a modern conception of natural philosophy, but upon learning of Galileo's condemnation (1633) he suppressed its publication and it too was only published posthumously in 1664.

Discourse on the Method then is Descartes' first publication, and its publication is generally considered to mark the birth of modern philosophy. Descartes wrote in a letter to Mersenne (February 1637)

1 Front cover of Aquinas, *Summa theologicae*, 1473.

3 Sixteenth century drawing from back endpaper of Aquinas, *Commentum in libros politicorum Aristotelis*, 1478.

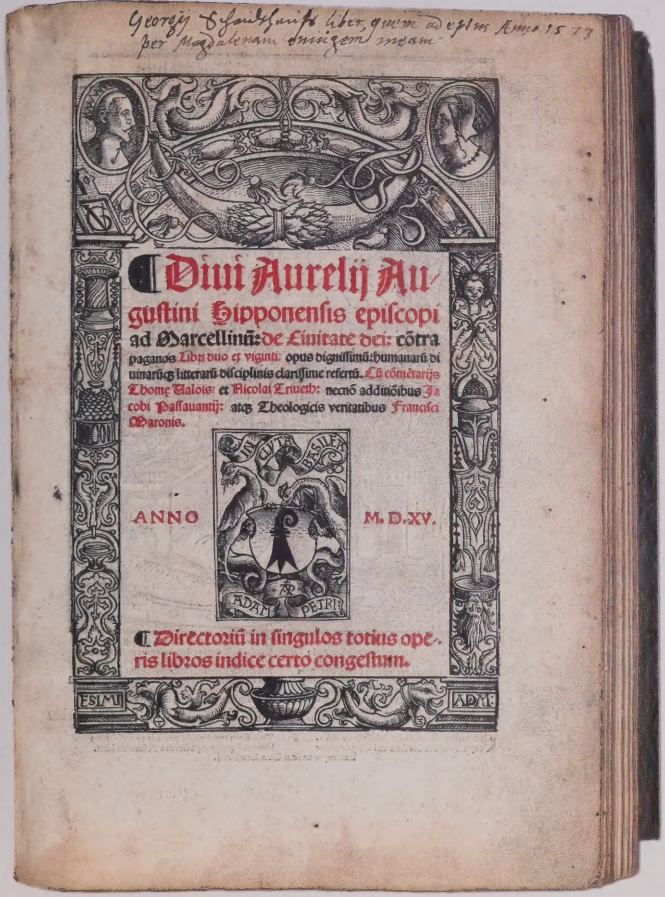
Amarita nus ille pissim⁹ spoliatꝰ vulneribus ac plena reddita sanitate; in sui principiū a quo pcedēns ab Jerīn deuiauerat: finaliꝫ reducat. De ista sanctꝫ sanatione salubri ac deuꝫ reductione finali tāꝫ de pdictꝰ ledentis sup solūi ecclīam magīr in ꝺ ope finali determinat. vt sic ex primo z 2ᵒ datur deū ee alpha. tā in se ens inter omnia pmū: q̄ omniū aliorꝝ originale pncꝰ sic ex 3ᵒ z 4ᵒ apparet ipsum esse z ordinē in se finē vltimū q̄ creature sue p seipꝫ in seipm finaliꝫ reductiuū. hāc aūt reductionē finalē pcedit curatio semiplena z plena curatio comitat. Secūdū hāc ꝺi. igitur pōt dīuidi 4ᵒ ista. dicendo q̄ magīr p agit de bona sanctꝫ curatione salubri. 2ᵒ de bona deuꝫ reductione finali curaf eni bō salubrit in suscepīone deuota sacrorꝫ veracīi. z reducit finaliꝫ in peceptōe locida premiorꝝ celestiū. Sacra eni ꝓponūt z pparāt. pmia vero pficiūt z ꝓsumāt. Uel pōt dici q̄ p agit de curatōe semiplena seu ꝓpositiua. z 2ᵒ de curatōe plena seu pfectiua. z vtrq; duūlio redit in idē. Tā curatio semiplena fit p grām sacrorꝝ que sunt medicine salubres plena curatio seu finalis reductio fit p collatōez pmiorꝝ que sunt locāe refectiones. In pᵐ igīr parte agit de sacrīs p que curaf la gaīd⁹ a morbo culpe. In 2ᵒ de pmiis p que liberaf a langore pene. Et incipit 2ᵒ in pⁿ ꝺi. 42. Post h ic. Prima ꝺiuisio in ꝺuas. pᵐ nāq; determinaf de sacro in gnāli. 2ᵒ in spāli. 2ᵒ in pⁿ ꝺi. 2. Ja ad sacramēta. Prima ꝺiuisio in 2. in pmiis z tractaūs. qui incipit ibi. Sacri ē facre ic. Et illa in quattuor. Pm ḡnaliꝰ que ē pmiis ꝓponit ptractāda. 2ᵈ est quid sit sacrīm. 3ᵐ quare instituū. ibi. Tripliciter ex cā. 3ᵒ i quo ꝺiffiat. ibi. Duo aūt sunt ic. 4ᵗᵒ de ꝺiffrentiis sacrorꝝ. ibi. Jam vide restat. Et ista in 2. in pncipale z ꝺuisiōnale. q̄ incipit ibi. fuit ri. Et 1ᵐ incidētalis in tres. q̄ primo agit de sacro ꝓpter legis mosayce. 2ᵒ qd sibi corrīdebat in lege nature. ibi. Queri aīr. 3ᵒ redit ad ꝺeclarāū q̄ꝺā ꝺubia de circūcīsione. ibi. Dic ꝺicēꝺū ē. De sacro igīr in gnali ꝺ tāꝫ notū occurrit ꝺiderāndꝰ sacra. s. q̄ sacrm spāle ad grām ordinaf. q̄ꝺ verū gnale si ꝓcularia z ꝺarī⁹ z plan⁹ explicēt: patebit veritas illoꝝ q̄ ꝺe sacro i gnali ꝺmunit ingrūf. Si an ordo iste fuerit cause ad cārū. ul signi tantum ad significatū ꝺifficultas ooꝝ pncipalīr ex ꝺuobus. quoꝝ vnū est gnale. s. de potēcia creature ad creāꝺū grām. 2ᵈᵘᵐ est spāle. s. ppria rō z excellētia sacri ad sācificāꝺū aīmā. Secūdū igitīr hac ꝑᵐ q̄. ubi ꝺe sacro agit i gnali ꝺ tāꝫ ꝺe ordine eī⁹ ad grāz pncipalīr est tractāꝺū. Primo q̄rit i gnali an creatura possit habē aliq̄a actiōez respectu termini creatiōis. 2ᵒ de ꝑpa rone sacri ꝺei⁹ institutōe. 3ᵒ ex istis ñ sacrm pōt hre respectu grē creāde aliq̄ cālitatē.

AD primum sic ꝓcedit. q arguīt q creatura pōt fīt hēre actōez respectu termini creationis. pmo q Aug. lug Job. omel 80. z ponīt in can ꝑᵐ q ꝑᵐ. Deinde. Que est ista virtus aque tanta: vt coop tangat z cos abluat. Si nō abluit cos. s. aīa nīs p grām. q aqua baptismalis effectiue se hꝫ ad grām q̄ cos abluit. Item. 8z. q. 78. Artifices ꝺo de nihilo nō pnt aliq̄ ꝺ fabricare: q̄ p coopas operant. q p oppositū creatura spāalis pōt aliq̄ ꝺe nihilo pducē: q nō opat q̄ coop⁹. Et confirmat. q sicut actio trāiēs requirit passū in q̄ agit ita videt q̄ actio imanēs nō requirat passū. q agēs actoe imanēte pōt agē z nō ꝺe aliquo passo. z ita creare.

Jeē rōne ic. Effect⁹ nō adequās virtutez agētis supioris pōt ab agēte inferiori ꝓduci. Si nullꝰ effect⁹ inferior supma creatura adequat virtutē ꝺei. nec adequatioe simplr. quōs nec ex in rōe effect⁹. q̄ adhuc aliq̄ supⁱ⁹ eo pōt esse effect⁹ ꝺei. q̄ aliqꝺ inferⁱ⁹ supma creatura pōt ab aliq̄ agente 2ᵈᵒ pduci. aliq̄ aūt tale est q̄ nō pot ꝓduci nīs p creatōez. q̄ ic. Maior. pbaf. q si effect⁹ in rōne effect⁹ nō adequat virtutez agētis. q̄ agens nō fin totā potēciā sua ꝓducit illū. z per ꝑᵐ minor potēcia sufficet ad pducēꝺū illū. Et confirmat. z pbatur ꝺᵒ in pbarōe maioris. q si fin totā potēciā pducēt effectū inferiorē. q supⁱ⁹ effectus nō offenꝺēt potēciā maiorē in eī q̄ in ferior. q inferior oꝺiū vocaꝫ ex quo ñ pot

4 Second leaf of Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, ca. 1476.

5 Front cover and original vellum index tabs from Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam*, 1497.


Georgij Schaidenreich liber quem de[di]t Anno 15 13
per Magdalenam soroz[em] meam
Diui Aurelij Au-
gustini Hipponensis episcopi
ad Marcellinū: de Ciuitate dei: cōtra
paganos Libri duo et viginti: opus dignissimū: humanarū di
uinarūq; litterarū disciplinis clarissime refertū. Cū cōmentarijs
Thome Valois: et Nicolai Triueth: necnō additionibus Ja
cobi Passauantij: atq; Theologicis veritatibus Francisci
Maronis.
IN CIVITA BASILEA
ANNO
M. D. XV.
ADAM PETRI
Directorium in singulos totius ope-
ris libros indice certo congestum.

7 Title page to Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 1515.

Aurea diuini quicunq; volumina tangis
Præsulis, est quibus in titulo respublica cœlo
Digna deis, sed digna seruil, cuicunq; salutis
Indigus est animus, ter septem vnoq; coactum
Hoc opus eximium, discreta volumina cernis,
Quoq; primus iuuo numero discrimine quino
Demonstrant varios falso sub numine diuos
Dæmonas & cultum veri vitupasse tonantis,
Altera iam deinceps canicura volumina quinq;
Lector habes, q; vana fuit delyra vetustas
Qua potuit vitam idolo subscribere ficto.
Corpore de toto bis sena volumina restant

Quatuor hinc primi, statuit q; exordia binis
Ciuibus, & varios demonstrant ordine mores.
Ir cain ad leuam, sic tartara læua subintrat,
Ast abel æthereum scelix conscendit olympum.
Bis duo dehinc eorsum memorat q; varia q; recursu
Vt babel impugnet solymos ciuesq; sionis
Det requiem belli nunq; infidusq; satelles
Dæmonas, sinocui pacem corrupere cordis
Instiget, foueat q; diu sub corde venenum
Perfidus, vt carnis adametur blanda voluptas.
Tum fines metitos, & præmia certa bonoꝝ
Prauoriq; canus postrema volumina libri.

Extemporaneum Con. Leontorij,

7 Woodcut of Augustine teaching, and the two cities from Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 1515.

LA REPVBLICA DI PLATONE,

TRADOTTA DALLA LINGVA GRECA NELLA THOSCANA DALL'ECCELLENTE PHISICO MESSER PAMPHILO FIORIMBENE DA FOSSEMBRONE.

CON GLI ARGOMENTI PER *ciascun Libro, & con la Tauola di tutte le cose piu notabili, che in quelli si contengono.*

CON PRIVILEGIO.

IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL GIOLITO DE FERRARI, ET FRATELLI M D LIIII.

10 Title page to Plato, *La Republica*, 1554.

Ex Bibliotheca Conventus Lugdunensis Ordinis Minimorum
E 73

AD DIVVM PETRVM
Apostolorum Principem Triumphantem.

ATHEISMVS TRIVMPHATVS
Seu
REDVCTIO AD RELIGIONEM
PER SCIENTIARVM VERITATES.

F. THOMÆ CAMPANELLÆ STYLENSIS
ORDINIS PRAEDICATORVM.

CONTRA
ANTICHRISTIANISMVM ACHITOPHELLISTICVM.

Sexti Tomi Pars Prima.

BIBLIOTHEQUE DES JACOBINS
POITIERS

ROMÆ, Apud Hæredem Bartholomæi Zannetti. M. DC. XXXI.
SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

14 Title page to Campanella, *Atheismus triumphatus*, 1631.

that he did "not intend to teach the method but only to speak about it. For, as can be seen from what I say, it consists much more in practice than in theory. I call the treatises following it *Essays in this Method* because I claim that what they contain could not have been discovered without it, and they enable us to recognize its value. And I have included a certain amount of metaphysics, physics and medicine in the introductory *Discourse* in order to show that the method extends to every kind of subject-matter." The *Essays* were all written or conceived before the *Discourse*. The work opens with a semi-autobiographical introduction in which Descartes outlines his new approach to philosophy. The book is also notable for having been written and published in French: it was translated into Latin, then the language of scholarship, in 1644. It was first published in Leiden, and has become quite rare.

18 René Descartes. *Meditationes de prima philosophia, in quibus Dei existentia, & animae humanae a corpore distinctio, demonstrantur...* Secunda editio septimis objectionibus antehac non visis aucta. Amstelodami [Amsterdam]: L. Elzevier, 1642.

This is the second, augmented edition of Descartes' philosophical masterpiece, greatly expanding the metaphysical arguments contained in his *Discourse on the Method*. The first edition of the *Meditations on First Philosophy*, published in 1641 by Michael Soly in Paris, contained six Meditations, followed by six sets of Objections to Descartes' arguments for the existence of God and the soul, written by various theologians and philosophers: Johannes Caterus, Marin Mersenne, Thomas Hobbes, Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Gassendi, and a sixth anonymous set of objections compiled by Mersenne, with six Replies to these objections by Descartes. The second edition adds a seventh set of Objections by the Jesuit Pierre Bourdin (1595-1653) interspersed with Descartes' Reply and a Letter to Father Dinet, together totalling 212 additional pages. Descartes was not satisfied with Soly as a publisher, so he arranged to have this edition brought out by Elzevir. While the first

edition has the subtitle: "in which are demonstrated the existence of God and the immortality of the soul"; in this new corrected and augmented edition he chose: "in which are demonstrated the existence of God and the distinction between the human soul and the body," which better represents the character of the work. It was first translated into French in 1647 by Louis-Charles D'Albert, Duc de Luynes (1620-90).

The *Meditations* begins with arguments intended to cast doubt on our former beliefs, culminating in the spectre of Descartes' all-deceiving evil genius. We can only escape from the sceptical result by discovering the certainty of self: *Cogito, Ergo Sum.* But this is a self that is known only as a thinking being, however, within it Descartes finds the idea of a God so perfect that the idea itself could not be placed within us other than by God himself. A God, who also guarantees that our reason can be trusted, provided that our beliefs are founded upon clear and distinct perceptions. Descartes is a dualist, arguing for two distinct substances – mind and body – leaving later philosophers the task of explaining how an unextended, immaterial thinking substance can interact with a material body.

19 René Descartes. *Les Passions de L'Ame*. Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1649.

Composed by Descartes largely at the urging of Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, a close friend and lifelong correspondent, who in a letter asks him to explain "the manner of [the soul's] actions and passions in the body" (20 June 1643). "Finally he brought physiological psychology within the compass of his system in *Les passions*... This system aimed to be as complete as Aristotle's, which it was designed to replace. It was not by chance that it dealt in the same order with many of the same phenomena..., as well as with others more recently investigated..." (DSB IV, 52). Descartes argued that the interaction of mind and body led to feelings like wonder, love, hatred, desire, joy and sadness, the basis for all the passions. Understanding these helps us to control them, a necessary foundation for morality. Notoriously, it is in *Les*

passions that he selected the pineal gland as the point of interaction between mind and body, selecting it because it appeared unique in the brain and because he incorrectly thought that it did not occur in other animals, for which questions of soul and body do not arise.

The book was printed in Holland and published in Amsterdam (as here) and Paris.

20 Thomas Hobbes. *Humane Nature, or, The fundamental Elements of Policie. Being a Discoverie of the Faculties, Acts, and Passions of the Soul of Man, from their Original Causes; according to such Philosophical Principles as are not Commonly Known or Affected.* London: Printed by T. Newcomb, for Fra: Bowman ..., 1650.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was an innovator in epistemology, ethics, and political theory. He was educated at Oxford (1602-8), although he largely taught himself mathematics and natural philosophy later. After leaving Oxford, he spent most of his life as a tutor and general factotum in the service of the earls of Devonshire and the earls of Newcastle, their kinsmen. He met Bacon in the 1620s and on his tutorial travels in Europe he met many leading thinkers, including Galileo, Gassendi, and Mersenne. He was also exposed to new political thinking and movements. His first publication is a translation of Thucydides (1629), after which he began to focus on philosophy and political theory. Hobbes' political writings bolstered the royalist argument in the dispute with Parliament, which led to his seeking exile in Paris from 1640 to 1651. He contributed the third set of Objections to Descartes' *Meditations* (1641), and began to publish his own system in *Elementorum philosophiae section tertia De Cive* (1641). In 1646, he became mathematics tutor to the future Charles II. Near death in 1647, he published his greatest work *Leviathan*. In 1652, recovered and reconciled to the Commonwealth, he returned to England. A dislike of both Anglicanism and Presbyterianism led him into many controversies. At the Restoration (1660) he was accused of heresy, but was protected by the earl of Arlington.

Written in 1640, *Humane Nature* forms the first of two parts of the

Elements of Law, Natural and Politic. Initially it was conceived as a long brief for his royalist employers and their circle. The second part was published the same year under the title *De Corpore Politico*. In the work Hobbes was the first to formulate a theory of the association of ideas.

21 Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill*. London: Printed for Andrew Crooke..., 1651.

Hobbes, famously, saw man's natural state as a life that is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Our safety and possessions are at the mercy of others, as they can do anything they like and are able to do to secure their own wellbeing at our expense. To overcome our uncertainty and fear we are prepared to sacrifice personal liberties for a social setting and protection. One result is governments, which are created by the transfer of a right by the many to the one or a few, for to maintain a commonwealth it requires absolute submission of the public to the resultant sovereign power. Such law-abiding behaviour is only required, however, so long as that sovereign secures their safety and well being.

Hobbes drew his title from the Bible, where Leviathan is a mythic principle of chaos and an enemy of God. (Pss. 74:13-14, 104.26; Job 3:8, 41:1-34). However, for Hobbes, Leviathan, as civil government, is the protector of humans: Leviathan is "that *Mortal God*, to which we owe under the *Immortal God*, our peace and defence. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him that by terror thereof he is enabled to conform the wills of them all to peace at home and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth" (Ch. 17, Par. 13). The work consists of four parts: I. Of Man; II. Of Commonwealth; III. Of a Christian Commonwealth; IV. Of the Kingdom of Darkness. The first two deal generally with the nature of human beings and of civil government, while the last two turn the discussion to governments with Christian subjects and sovereigns. In the latter, he argues, among other things,

that the Hebrew Bible was written long after the events it records, pointing out the Moses could not have written all of the Pentateuch.

The true first edition with the head ornament, often referred to as "first edition, first issue", but in fact the only first edition. There are two later editions bearing the same imprint, but different ornaments on the title-page. That the book was not openly printed after the first edition is due to the fact that further printing was prohibited by the Licensers, with the result that the second edition was probably printed in Holland soon after the first, although the third was likely published years later (in London?). Neither the artist nor the engraver of the title-page is known. A Latin edition, published in Amsterdam in 1688 (also in the Collection), significantly expands and modifies the work. These works complement the major Hobbes collection of the Fisher Library.

22 Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole. *La Logique, ou, l'Art de penser: contenant, outre les regles communes, plusiers observations nouvelles propres à former le jugement*. A Paris, Iean Guignart, Charles Savreux, Iean de Launay, 1662.

Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) and Pierre Nicole (1625-1695) were two of the most influential teachers in the Jansenist monastery at Port-Royal, and were thus committed to the teachings of the Fleming Cornelius Otto Jansen (1585-1638), who preached a rigid Augustinianism: the necessity of grace for salvation, predestination, divine providence, and moral rigour. Arnauld received his doctorate in theology in 1641 and was admitted to the Sorbonne in 1643 (expelled 1656). His sister Angélique was the abbess of Port-Royal. Arnauld was an ardent defender of Cartesian philosophy, although he authored the fourth set of Objections in Descartes' *Meditations.* For his theological views he was persecuted by the Jesuits, the Church establishment including the Vatican, Parlement, the Université de Paris, and the King. Nicole studied theology at the Sorbonne, but joined Port-Royal in minor orders. After 1654, he served as Arnauld's secretary. He went into exile with Arnauld in 1679, but soon returned after making peace with the Archbishop of Paris, which angered many Jansenists, but not Arnauld who remained abroad and who died in Brussels.

The famous *Port-Royal Logic* was really a "handbook on method rather than a study of formal logic in the strict sense, it was strongly and consciously Cartesian – roughly, a development from Descartes' *Regulae* rather than Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*. By greatly elaborating the theory of clear and distinct ideas, Arnauld [and Nicole] sought to provide a way to science that would escape Pyrrhonism" (EP 1, 165). It exerted a profound influence on philosophical thinking, and its division of the subject into the theory of conception, judgment, reasoning, and method established a psychologistic approach which dominated logic until the time of Gottlob Frege (1848-1925). It was also a key source for reflections on controversies about miracles, including how to weigh apparently reliable human testimony in favor of miracles against the improbability of a miracle's occurrence. It was revised and augmented in editions of 1664, 1668, 1674, and 1683.

23 Thomas Stanley. *The History of Philosophy: Containing Those on Whom the Attribute of Wise was Conferred*. London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and Thomas Dring, 1655-1660.

—— *The History of the Chaldaick Philosophy*. London: Printed for Thomas Dring, 1662.

Thomas Stanley (1625-78), the son of a wealthy landowner, was educated by a tutor before entering Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in 1639 as a gentleman commoner. During the civil war he traveled on the continent, but returned to take up lodgings in the Middle Temple. He may have been a secret royalist. After the Restoration he was one of the founders of the Royal Society. Stanley was a well-known poet, translator, and, as here, a noted scholar.

Stanley's is the first substantial history of philosophy in English, although it deals only with Greek Philosophy from Thales (fl. ca. 585 BCE) to Carneades (214-129 BCE). It consists essentially of biographies of the philosophers, chiefly drawn from Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* (ca. 300-50 CE). It was published in thirteen parts in three volumes and is accompanied with an amazing set of fictional portraits.

The fourth volume on the Chaldean Oracles, much valued by theurgic neo-Platonists, was added later. Parts were translated into French and the whole into Latin. Finally, the work reached a fourth English edition by 1743.

24 Benedict Spinoza. *Tractatus theologico-politicus: continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse.* Hamburgi [i.e. Amstelaedami]: Henr. Kunraht, 1670.

Of Sephardic origin, Baruch or Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677) was educated at a Talmudic school in Amsterdam, which he left to join his family's importing business before he could begin rabbinic studies. He abandoned Jewish practices, however, and was banished by the Jewish community in 1656, for his obstinacy in maintaining unorthodox theological views. He learned Latin in private study and sought to have the life of a scholar after leaving a business partnership with his brother, taking up the profession of an optical lens maker to make ends meet. He left Amsterdam and lived in Rijnsburg and Voorburg, before settling in The Hague, where he died of consumption. His fame spread among an underground of liberal thinkers, and he was offered but refused a professorship in philosophy at Heidelberg.

Spinoza first wrote the *Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect* (ca. 1657-60), but he never finished it and what we have was published posthumously; then the *Short Treatise on God, Man, and His Well-Being* (ca. 1662), but the Latin original was lost and a Dutch translation was not rediscovered until the nineteenth century. His first publication was *Principles of Cartesian Philosophy*, published in 1663 with Spinoza's own brief *Metaphysical Thoughts*, the first being an exposition using geometric reasoning of Parts I and II of Descartes' *Principles of Philosophy* (1644). It is thought that Spinoza rejected the *Short Treatise* as being in an inadequate form to properly argue for his own developing ideas on God, nature, and man, and so began work on the geometrically ordered *Ethics*, which he finished but did not publish in his lifetime.

While writing the *Ethics*, Spinoza felt drawn to respond to the complex theological and civic disputes surrounding him. He did this by writing a treatise that, among other things, is the forerunner of modern historical biblical criticism. Due to the *Tractatus*' controversial positions, it was published anonymously and with a false imprint: it was actually published in Amsterdam by Jan Rieuwertsz. An extension to political thought of Spinoza's ethical views, it was banned in 1674 by the States of Holland and placed on the Index in 1679.

Its printing history is, in Fritz Bamberger's words, "a complex and fascinating bibliographical tale." Five editions bear the date of 1670, but Bamberger (*Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*. v, 1961) has shown that the production of those editions is continued until soon after Spinoza's death. Although Bamberger's dates are accepted by scholars, it has now been made clear that his assumption that the text of successive editions became increasingly imperfect is incorrect. In fact, Kingma has demonstrated on the basis of Spinoza's correspondence that he took a very active interest in the corrections to his text, and that the last editions of those dated 1670 should in fact be considered as closer to the author's final version (*Studia Rosenthaliana*. 11, 1977). This copy is the first edition, with page 104 misprinted as 304.

25 Benedict Spinoza. *Opera posthuma, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur.* [Amsterdam]: [Jan Rieuwertsz], 1677.

Although the third of Spinoza's published works, this contains the first appearance of the *Ethics* which he had finished no later than 1675 but declined to publish because of fears for his personal safety resulting from his radical views on religion and other matters. It is Spinoza's masterpiece and one of the greatest works of philosophy. Only one day before his death Spinoza arranged that his papers should be sent to Jan Rieuwertsz in Amsterdam, who also published his *Principia* and *Tractatus*. The work was edited by the merchant Jarig Jelles, one of Spinoza's best friends. In the published book, neither author, nor editor, nor publisher, nor place are mentioned – this was not a

superfluous precaution, for by 1678 the work was already prohibited by the States of Holland as being "prophaen, atheistisch ende blasphement." Contents: I. *Ethica, more geometrico demonstrata*; II. *Politica* [or *Tractatus politicus*, which was unfinished]; III. *De emendatione intellectûs* [also unfinished, but perhaps more accurately, abandoned]; IV. *Epistolae, & ad eas responsiones*; V. *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebrææ* [which follows the index].

The *Ethics* has five Parts, but three essential divisions: I On God, II On Man, and III-V On Salvation. Spinoza uses a geometrical approach modeled after Euclid: starting with definitions and axioms and developing theorems and propositions, which have corollaries, scholia, etc. He wishes to establish a rational, naturalistic view of theology, nature, psychology, and ethics. Famously, he argues that there is only one substance, God *or* Nature, and that everything else is a mode of that single substance, which can be known under just two of its infinite attributes, thought and extension. Spinoza's epistemology draws upon Descartes' emphasis on clear and distinct ideas, but grounds our search for knowledge in his own conception of *conatus*, a striving all beings have to persist and manifest their essence. In the case of humans our nature is especially that of rational animals. To achieve our well-being, we must act harmoniously with nature, subordinating the passions to reason. This requires as complete an understanding of nature as possible, reached only in Spinoza's third kind of knowledge, *scientia intuitiva* in which one see things *sub specie aeternitatis*, through which we can achieve a sort of immortal blessedness. Spinoza's deterministic monism, despite its boldness and difficulty, has proved very influential, and not just with philosophers.

Some copies have a portrait, however, this "would doubtless not originally have been in the 1677 edition, since in that edition the author remains anonymous. This is confirmed by Jan Rieuwertsz jun., who in 1704 informed the German traveller Dr. Hallmann that the portrait was not executed until three or four years later" (Kingma & Offenberg, *Bibliography of Spinoza's Works*. Amsterdam, 1977). This copy was formerly owned by Richard Popkin (1923-), the leading historian of scepticism during the modern period.

26 John Locke. *An Essay concerning Humane Understanding. In Four Books*. London: Printed by Eliz. Holt, for Thomas Basset ..., 1690.

John Locke (1632-1704) was educated at Westminster School and then at Christ Church, Oxford (1652-8). He remained at Christ Church as a life fellow (in Christ Church's peculiar terminology a 'student') for many years, during which he taught philosophy, studied medicine, and met with leading scientists, in particular Robert Boyle (1627-96). In 1668, Locke was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. The prior year he had joined the household of Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621-83), later the 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, as both a physician and political advisor. Over the next two decades he worked with Shaftesbury to enforce constitutional limits on the crown and to exclude the Catholic James, Duke of York, from succession. Locke followed Shaftesbury into exile in Holland in 1683, and his primary efforts then turned from political theory and practice to philosophy. After the Revolution he returned to England in 1689. The successful publication of the *Essay* in 1690 increased Locke's public stature, and he served on the Board of Trade where he advised on economic and monetary matters. As well, he wrote a variety of works urging religious toleration. Other than the *Essay* (Locke's name is not on the title-page but he signs the dedication), all his works were initially published anonymously, however, his authorship was well known in some instances. He spent the final years of his life in the household of his close friend Lady Damaris Masham, daughter of the philosopher Ralph Cudworth (1617-88).

Locke's *Essay* is the first modern attempt to analyse the full range of human knowledge: "My purpose [is] to enquire into the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge; together, with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent" (I.i.2). A first draft of the work has been dated to 1671, and thus the *Essay* took twenty years to complete. Its influence is immeasurable, all subsequent empiricist philosophers draw from it, and all anti-empiricists have to respond to it. It clearly marks an epoch in the history of philosophy, introducing to philosophy the treatment of its questions from the standpoint of psychology.

Locke maintained that at birth our mind is like a "white paper...without any ideas" (II.i.2). Ideas are either given in experience or formed from simple ideas so given. He allowed, however, for some *a priori* knowledge, such as geometry, but did not see even these ideas as innate, because the reflection that is involved in geometrical reasoning is itself a form of experience. His representational theory of perception sought to bridge the gap between reality and ideas, that is, objects act on the senses giving rise to ideas of primary qualities: solidity, extension, figure, motion, and rest. In contrast, secondary qualities, such as colour, smell, and taste, do not arise from this power in the object to affect us. Knowledge results from reason working out the connections of ideas. Locke held that the real essence of things was unknown to us, however, and thus our knowledge of nature, while well grounded, is probabilistic. He also believed that a providential God had so empowered us that we can obtain knowledge of that which leads to virtue.

Four editions of the *Essay* appeared in Locke's lifetime and a fifth in 1706. This copy is from the first issue of the first edition. As noted, the impact of the work was immense, and there were fifty-six distinct editions and translations by 1800. An *Abridgment of Mr. Locke's Essay...* was published in 1696, a French translation in 1700, and differing Latin translations in 1701 and 1741 (these are all in the Collection, and will supplement the already strong Locke collection of the Fisher Library).

27 John Locke. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill ..., 1693.

Locke's treatise on education was derived from a series of letters written to his friends Edward and Mary Clarke, from 1684 to 1691, in response to their request for advice on the education of their children. It was published at the instigation of William Molyneux (1656-98), the Irish philosopher, scientist and parliamentarian.

Basing his ideas on the doctrine of "a sound mind in a sound body," Locke argued that children should be free of physical restraint, and should be treated as rational creatures. There is much emphasis on moral development, particularly as resulting from habits of mind, but

there is also a good deal on practical matters, such as toilet-training, diet, manners, including to servants, clothing, and exercise. Locke argues that physical punishment should only be used as a last resort. On education, he urges attending to the child at play as a way of understanding particular character traits, and advises on the teaching of a range of subjects, including foreign languages. Overall, the emphasis is on the formation of character, developing a child's unique potentialities, and preparing him/her to meet a wide range of experiences, both intellectual and physical, in later life.

This copy, which is from the first issue, has the bookplate of Sir William Trumbull (1639-1716), Secretary of State. Trumbull corresponded with Locke on a number of issues (especially when Locke was a member of the Board of Trade) and he was the recipient of several presentation copies of Locke's books.

Although there were four editions before Locke's death in 1704, the differences among them are minor. *Some Thoughts* was perhaps Locke's most popular work, reaching a wide-ranging audience of readers interested in the education of their children; as a result, by 1800, there had been twenty-five distinct editions, as well as translations into Dutch (two), French, German (five), Italian (three), Polish, Russian, and Swedish. Indeed, as recently as 1902, in a how-to series for parents, the work was brought out as *How to Bring Up Your Children*, and translations have since been published in Czech, Japanese, Rumanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Spanish.

28 Nicolas de Malebranche. *Réflexions sur la prémotion physique.* Paris: Michel David, 1715.

Malebranche (1638-1715) was educated at the Sorbonne before entering the Oratory in 1660. Besides theology and philosophy, he worked in microscopy, discussed the infinitesimal calculus, and was elected to the Académie des sciences in 1699. Malebranche was greatly influenced by the ideas of Augustine on grace and freedom and by Descartes. His first and most important work *De la recherché de la vérité* appeared in two volumes in 1674-5. In *The Search after Truth* he argues for an extreme

occasionalism that denies causal efficacy to finite things, including mental activities. All things are directly caused by God – all physical and mental events are 'occasions' for God to exercise his power. And, we see all things in God – our representational ideas are ideas in God's understanding of things. He was attacked by Simon Foucher (1644-96) and Arnauld, and engaged in lengthy and bitter debate with both, but influenced many including Leibniz and Locke.

This is Malebranche's last book, which was written as a retort to Laurent Boursier's *De l'Action de Dieu sur les creatures*. Boursier had maintained that Malebranche's philosophy of occasionalism leads naturally to the Thomistic position that God determines our action by means of a 'physical promotion.' Malebranche here responds that our free action involves a 'consent' that God does not determine.

29 Gottfried Wilhelm Friedrich Leibniz. *Q.D.B.V. Disputatio juridica de conditionibus quam indultu amplissimi ... Dno. Bartholomeaeo Leonhardo Schwnendendorfero, J. U. D. & Inst. Prof. Publ. ... Publicae censurae exponit M. Gottfredus Guilielmus Leibnuzius, Lipsiensis, Autor. D. XIV. Julii Anno M.DC. LXV.* Lipsiae: Typis Johannis Wittigau., [1665].

Leibniz (1646-1716) was a hyperactive polymath, making significant contributions in philosophy, theology, mathematics, various natural sciences, law, and history, while also being actively engaged in the public events of his time. He was educated at Leipzig (1661-6) and Altdorf (1666-7), graduating with degrees in philosophy and law. He then entered the service of the Elector of Mainz, eventually being sent on diplomatic business to Paris (1672-6), where he met leading intellectuals and independently invented the calculus. He traveled in England and Holland, meeting with Spinoza among others, before returning to the court of Hanover as counselor, head librarian, and family historian. He had a wide circle of correspondents, including Foucher, Arnauld, Spinoza, Malebranche, and Samuel Clarke. Leibniz wrote a great deal, but like many polymaths, tended not to stick with any one thing for long, and published much less than he wrote during

his lifetime. Most of what he did publish in philosophy appeared in the journals of the time. His famous *Théodicée* (1710) was the only true book he published in his lifetime. In 1714, he wrote the *Monadologie*, but it was not published for several years, and then not in the original French.

The sole edition, of the utmost rarity, of Leibniz's third work, preceded by twelve and twenty-eight page academic disputations of the prior two years. On 17th August it was followed by a *Disputatio juridica posterior de conditionibus...*, with the same respondent, one of Leibniz's law professors. Leibniz had received his Master of Philosophy in February 1664, and then turned to law. After turning from the law he returned to philosophy and published his dissertation *De arte combinatoria* in 1666. The present work is the most philosophical in content of Leibniz' legal writings, and deals with the problem of free will which he relates to his theodicy and metaphysics using a method of mathematical demonstration. The letters in the title, Q.D.B.V., are an abbreviation for the motto *Quod Deus bene vertat!* Literally, "What God may cause to prosper."

30 G. W. F. Leibnitz. *Oeuvres philosophiques latines & françoises de feu Mr. De Leibnitz. Tirées de ses manuscrits qui se conservent dans la Bibliotheque Royale a Hanovre, et publiéees par Mr. Rud. Eric Raspe. avec une préface de Mr. Kaestner professeur en mathématiques à Göttingue.* A Amsterdam...: Chez Jean Schreuder, 1765.

Leibniz believed that ours was the best possible world, freely created by a God who always chooses the best. There must also be a sufficient reason for everything that exists. Behind a mechanistic world of physical bodies in motion there are living things and souls, which he called monads, which are simple substances irreducibly different from each other. These mind-like entities, which are in a pre-established harmony with each other, are the true reality. Monads lack spatial properties and there are no causal relations between them. Rather, God has so preordained each monad at creation that its future unfolds as if from a blue-print, including its only-apparent "relations" with other

monads. And God has so created minds (a single monad) that they are in perfect harmony with bodies (collections of monads). In the main work of this collection, Leibniz argues that the mind is furnished with innate ideas, rejecting Locke's view of it as a *tabula rasa*, or empty writing tablet which derives everything from sense experience.

This is the first collected edition of Leibniz's works, many here published for the first time from manuscripts held in the Royal Library at Hanover. The most important, which constitutes the bulk of the volume, is the *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain*, written in 1703-5 in reaction to Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Leibniz delayed its publication when he learned of Locke's death. It is written in the form of a dialogue between Philalethe, a lover of truth, who speaks for Locke directly from Coste's French translation of the *Essay* (1700), and Theophile, a lover of God, who gives Locke's reply. This is one of Leibniz' most important works. The editor Raspe was secretary of the university library at Göttingen, while Kaestner, professor of mathematics, contributes an introduction highlighting the mathematical and scientific contributions contained in the anthology.

31 Isaac Watts, *Logick, or, The Right Use of Reason in the Enquiry after Truth, with a Variety of Rules to Guard against Error, in the Affairs of Religion and Human Life, as well as in the Sciences.* London: Printed for John Clark and Richard Hett..., 1725.

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was a non-conformist minister who, because of his poor health, preached infrequently. Instead, he devoted most of his time to writing theology, poetry, and hymns, for which he became quite famous in his time. However, he also left a legacy of another kind. "Few textbooks of its time distributed their doctrines to a wider public than Watts' *Logick* did... It is probably fair to say that in the English-speaking world more eighteenth-century students and serious general readers learned their lessons about logic from Isaac Watts than from any other source" (Howell, *Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric*, pp. 341-2). Watts treats logic as the art of reason or the pursuit of truth, and links it with the analysis of nature. The work was

extremely successful, fifteen editions appearing in London by 1772. Watts wrote another educational work: *The Knowledge of the Heavens and the Earth Made Easy, or the First Principles of Geography and Astronomy Explained* (1726). Many of Samuel Johnson's quotations in his *Dictionary* come from Watts' works, and he also appears in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets.*

32 George Berkeley. *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. Part I. Wherein the chief Causes of Error and Difficulty in the Sciences, with the Grounds of Scepticism, Atheism, and Irreligion, are inquir'd into.* Dublin: Printed by Aaron Rhames, for Jeremy Pepyat ..., 1710.

George Berkeley (1685-1753) "is a most striking and even unique phenomenon in the history of philosophy. There have been many philosophers who have constructed bold and sweeping, often strange and astonishing, metaphysical systems. Some...have been devoted to the clarification and defence of 'common sense'. And some have made it their chief concern to defend religious faith and doctrine against their perceived enemies. It is the peculiar achievement of Berkeley that, with high virtuosity and skill, he contrived to present himself in all these roles at once" (G. J. Warnock, *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, p. 89).

Berkeley was educated at Kilkenny College, near his birthplace, and then at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was elected a Junior Fellow in 1707. He was ordained in 1709, moved to London in 1713, and twice toured the Continent before 1720. In 1724, he became the Dean of Derry and in 1734, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne. In 1754, he left Cloyne to supervise his son's education at Oxford, and there he died. Berkeley's first book, *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709), is important in the history of psychology. The *Treatise*, his greatest work, was little noticed initially. A Part II, dealing with moral philosophy, was intended but never appeared. It was followed by *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* (1713), whose literary form made his defence of immaterialism more accessible. In 1732, *Alciphron*, an

THOMÆ

CAMPANELLÆ

STYL. ORD. PRÆD.

PHILOSOPHIÆ

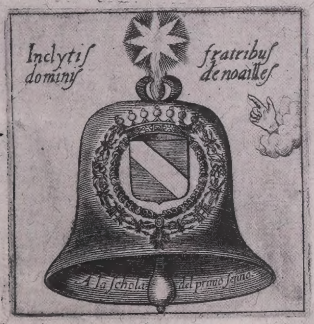
RATIONALIS

PARTES QVINQVE.

Videlicet:

GRAMMATICA, DIALECTICA,
RHETORICA, POETICA, HISTORIOGRAPHIA,
iuxta propria principia.

SVORVM OPERVM TOMVS I.



PARISIIS,
Apud IOANNEM DV BRAY, viâ Iacobæâ,
sub Spicis Maturis.

M. DC. XXXVIII.
Cum Priuilegio Regis.

15 Title page to Campanella, *Philosophiae rationalis partes quinque*, 1637-1638.

PETRI GASSENDI

ANIMADVERSIONES IN DECIMVM LIBRVM DIOGENIS LAERTII,

QVI EST

De Vita, Moribus, Placitisque EPICVRI.

Continent autem Placita, quas ille treis statuit Philosophiæ partes;

I. CANONICAM *nempe, habitam* DIALECTICÆ *loco:*
II. PHYSICAM, *ac imprimis nobilem illius partem* METEOROLOGIAM:
III. ETHICAM, *cuius gratiâ ille excolvit ceteras.*

EPICVRI EFFIGIES.
Ex Cimel. Cl. Viri Exiel Puteani.

LVGDVNI,
Apud GVILLELMVM BARBIER, Typogr. Reg.
M. DC. XLIX.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

16 Title page to Gassendi, *Animadversiones*, 1649, with portrait vignette of Epicurus.

21 Title page to Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651.

23 Engraved "portrait" of Thales from Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, 1655-1660.

23 Engraved "portrait" of Plato from Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, 1655-1660.

AN

ESSAY

CONCERNING

Humane Understanding.

In Four BOOKS.

Quam bellum eſt velle confiteri potius neſcire quod neſcias, quam iſta effutientem nauſeare, atque ipſum ſibi diſplicere! Cic. de Natur. Deor. *l.* 1.

LONDON:

Printed by *Eliz. Holt*, for Thomas Baſſet, at the *George* in *Fleetſtreet*, near St. *Dunſtan's* Church. MDCXC.

26 Title page to Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, 1690.

Q. D. B. V. 91.

DISPUTATIO JURIDICA

De

CONDITIONIBUS

Quam

Indultu Amplissimi JCtorum ordinis

PRÆSIDE

VIRO

Nobilissimo, Consultissimo atq; Excellentissimo,

DNO. BARTHOLOMÆO LEONHARDO SCHWENDENDÖRFERO,

J. U. D. & Inst. Prof. Publ. celeberrimo Patrono ac Præceptore suo inprimis Venerando.

Publicæ censuræ exponit

M. GOTTFREDUS GUILIELMUS LEIBNUZIUS, Lipsiensis,

AUTOR.

D. XIV. Julii Anno M. DC. LXV.

LIPSIÆ,

Typis JOHANNIS WITTIGAU.

29 Title page to Leibniz, *Disputatio juridica*, 1665.

OEUVRES
PHILOSOPHIQUES
LATINES & FRANÇOISES
DE FEU
Mr. DE LEIBNITZ.
TIRE'ES DE SES MANUSCRITS QUI SE CONSERVENT DANS LA BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE A HANOVRE, ET PUBLIE'ES PAR
Mr. RUD. ERIC RASPE.
Avec une Préface de Mr. KAESTNER *Professeur en Mathématiques à Göttingue.*

A AMSTERDAM ET A LEIPZIG,
Chez JEAN SCHREUDER.
MDCCLXV.

30 Title page to Leibnitz, *Oeuvres Philosophiques*, 1765.

apology for Christianity, was published. *The Analyst*, another defence of religion which achieves that purpose by criticizing Newton's method of fluxions, i.e. differential calculus, was published in 1734.

The *Treatise*, which is very scarce, due to the small Dublin printing, became a book central to empiricism and one that, from Hume onwards, has continued to influence the course of philosophy in a major way. Although Berkeley derived his empiricism in part from Locke, he was largely independent in his thinking, criticizing Locke, for instance, for admitting abstract ideas, such as substance. Berkeley's central belief was that no object exists external to a mind that conceives it: (a) what we immediately perceive are real things; (b) what we perceive immediately are ideas, which exist only in the mind. In this simple two-step argument we have the beginning of philosophical idealism – *esse est percipi*, to be is to be perceived.

Although few have accepted his conclusion, his careful arguments have been difficult to refute. James Beattie (1735-1803), for example, pondered: "Is it unphilosophical not to be convinced by arguments which I cannot confute? I have known many who could not answer Berkeley's arguments; I never knew one who believed his doctrine." Dr. Johnson's sarcastic rejection of Berkeley's theory is related by Boswell: "We stood talking for some time together of Bishop Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the non-existence of matter, and that everything in the universe is merely ideal, I observed, that though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it. I never shall forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone, till he rebounded from it, 'I refute it *thus*.'" Notwithstanding Johnson's sarcastic rebuke, Berkeley was deadly serious in his purpose, believing that his immaterialism gave the only hope of defeating a scepticism which ultimately would lead to loss of religious belief.

33 George Berkeley. *Siris: A Chain Of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries Concerning the Virtues of Tar Water, and Divers other Subjects connected together and arising One from Another*. Dublin: Printed by Margt. Rhames, for R. Gunne ..., 1744.

This, Berkeley's last major work, was a great success, going through two Dublin and four London editions in its first year. Here Berkeley's medical and philosophical theories are blended together, the work moving from the physical to the metaphysical. Although many philosophers have dismissed Berkeley's late works as having little interest, Geoffrey Keynes (the physician-bibliographer and brother of the economist-book collector John Maynard Keynes) describes *Siris* as "one of the most beautifully composed treatises on metaphysical philosophy ever written." Adding: "Berkeley confessed that this work caused him more thought and research than any other he had ever been engaged in." To us, the work seems seriously dated, however, Berkeley had studied the best doctors and chemists of his day and believed that tar-water contained "imprisoned fire", which accounted for its curative powers because fire is the medium through which God works in the world.

This is a presentation copy with the bookplate of John Percival Earl of Egmont, dated 1736, and the inscription "From the Author Dr. Geo. Berkley (sic) Bishop of Cloyn (sic)" written in a contemporary hand on the front free endpaper. John Percival (1683-1748) was the first Earl of Egmont and led an active political career which was closely linked with Ireland, indeed his earldom was in the peerage of Ireland. Egmont was said to be "much ridiculed for his pomposity; but he possessed ability and public spirit." He was the author of a number of antiquarian and genealogical studies and carried on an extensive correspondence with Berkeley that was published in *Berkeley and Percival*, ed. B. Rand (Cambridge, 1914).

34 Joseph Butler. *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added Two brief Dissertations: I. Of Personal Identity. II. Of the Nature of Virtue*. London: Printed for James, John and Paul Knapton ..., 1736.

Joseph Butler (1692-1752) displayed early talent in a series of letters he wrote to Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) while he was still a student at the dissenting academy in Tewksbury. After convincing his father to let him become an Anglican, Butler enrolled at Oriel College, Oxford. He was appointed, in 1719, as a preacher at the Rolls Chapel in London, from which came his first publication, *Fifteen Sermons* (1726). He next was rector of Stanhope (1726-33) and it was there that he wrote the *Analogy*, one of the greatest works of Christian apologetics. He became Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline, and her support led to his appointment to the see of Bristol and eventually to his being named Dean of St. Paul's in 1740. He declined the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747, when he is supposed to have said that "it was too late for him to try to support a falling Church" (D18BP, p. 162). He did, however, accept the bishopric of Durham in 1747.

The *Analogy* was written to counter the growing influence of the Deists, who allowed for a creator God, but who rejected most of the other doctrines of natural and revealed religion, including the central tenets of Christianity. Butler sought by empirical arguments to convince the Deists that their refutations of Christianity could be used equally well against their own Religion of Nature. The "analogy" the title refers to is that between the Bible and Nature, each of which bears the mark of the same divine author. He argued that the core beliefs of natural religion, such as that in a future life, are at least probable based on the evidence we draw from the study of nature, and those of revealed religion are as probable as those of natural religion. Thus, examination of Nature supported not only our belief in a future life, as the Deists would accept, but indirectly our acceptance of Christian revelation. Hume ranked Butler with Locke and Berkeley as one of the originators of the experimental method in moral science. The *Analogy* was "the one theological work of the century that Hume was to deem worthy of serious consideration and whose author was also highly respected by him" (Mossner, *Life of David Hume*. Oxford, 1980, p. 111).

35 Francis Hutcheson. *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; in Two Treatises : in which the Principles of the late Earl of Shaftsbury are explain'd and defended, against the Author of the Fable of the Bees : and the Ideas of Moral Good and Evil are establish'd, according to the Sentiments of the antient Moralists : with an Attempt to introduce a Mathematical Calculation in Subjects of Morality.* London: Printed by J. Darby ..., for Wil. and John Smith ... ; and sold by W. and J. Innys ..., J. Osborn and T. Longman ..., and S. Chandler ..., 1725.

Frances Hutcheson (1694-1746) is widely acknowledged as the father of the Scottish Enlightenment. His initial education was in County Down, Ireland, his place of birth. His career, however, is closely tied to the University of Glasgow, which he entered as a student in 1710, to which he was elected to the chair of moral philosophy in 1729, and where he remained the rest of his life, lecturing on natural religion, morals, jurisprudence and government. "It was he who broke the Scholastic tradition in Scotland, introduced the method and outlook of Locke, and first used English formally in the lecture-room of a Scottish university" (Jessop, *Bibl. of David Hume and of Scottish Phil.* p. vi). Among his students was Adam Smith, and a young David Hume was his correspondent.

In the *Inquiry*, his first and perhaps best known work, Hutcheson defends a natural propensity or principle of benevolence towards others, against both Hobbes and Mandeville who argued that we only display such 'public affection' because of the pleasure we derive from seeing others being happy. In aesthetics he shows the similarity of judgments of taste to moral judgments, in that both are founded not on self-interest but rather a disinterested appreciation and fellow-feeling which seeks consensus. Here, in contrast to Locke, whose way of ideas he follows in epistemology, he argues that our ideas of beauty and virtue are not simply mental constructs but are founded in the first case on a sense of beauty and in the second a moral sense, which senses are involved in our interaction with the world and which give rise to distinctive feelings, such as those of pleasure and/or of approbation.

36 Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire. *Letters Concerning the English Nation.* London: Printed [by William Bowyer] for C. Davis and A. Lyon, 1733.

Preceding the French edition by one year, and inspired by a stay in England from 1726-29, this is one of Voltaire's (1694-1778) most important early philosophical works. The letters deal with his personal experiences and observations in England, with English literature and dramatists, and English public life of the time. Certain of the letters, e.g. those on Newton and Descartes, are concerned with philosophy and science, and were more likely written in French after Voltaire's return to France. The putatively English letters (numbers 1-8, 10, 12, 18, 19, 21, and 22) are lively and well-written, showing considerable variations from the French editions. The letters originally written in French, on the other hand, are translated in a laboured style and stick pedantically close to the French texts. It is not clear who made the English translations of these letters, but it was probably not John Lockman, to whom the translation has usually been attributed. It may have been Thiriot, to whom the letters are addressed and who wrote the inept preface. In this work first appeared the famous anecdote of Newton and the falling apple (p. 127). Harcourt Brown has argued that more than half of the book was in fact written by Voltaire in English and rewritten by him in French for the French editions. He therefore concludes that "the English text has more actuality than the author's French revision of it; the reader is closer to the impressions and events that inspired Voltaire." He further points out that this is one of three authentic texts of this important work (Brown, "The composition of the *Letters Concerning the English Nation*," in *The Age of the Enlightenment*, ed. Barber (1967), pp. 15-34). Notably, the Fisher Library's current collection of Voltaire was founded with the collection of Harcourt Brown.

37 Jacob Brucker. *Institvtiones historiae philosophicae vsvi academicae ivventvtis adornatae*. Lipsiae [Leipzig]: Impensis Bernhard. Christoph Breitkopf, 1747.

The first edition of perhaps the first textbook on the history of philosophy. Brucker (1696-1770), who was educated at the University of Jena and from 1731 was a cleric at Augsburg, complemented the five massive volumes of his *Historia critica philosophiae a mundi incunabulis ad noastram usqve aetatem deducta* (1742-44) with this precisely parsed extract. In doing so, he gave the history of philosophy as Kant and the Encyclopedists may have studied it. There appears to be no book prior to this intended as a textbook in the field. This copy belonged to a school, and one finds in it some of the signs of student use. There was a second edition in 1755.

38 George Turnbull. *The Principles of Moral [and Christian] Philosophy. An Enquiry into the Wise and Good Government of the Moral World : in which the Continuance of Good Administration, and of Due Care about Virtue, for ever, is inferred from present Order in all Things, in that Part chiefly where Virtue is concerned [Vol. II Containing, Christian Philosophy: or the Christian Doctrine concerning God, Providence, Virtue, and a Future State, proved to be agreeable to True Philosophy, and to be attended with a Truly Philosophical Evidence].* London: Printed for John Noon ..., 1740.

George Turnbull (1698-1748) was educated at Edinburgh in arts and then divinity. He taught at Marischal College, Aberdeen until 1727, where his most distinguised pupil was Thomas Reid (1710-96). His teaching placed great emphasis on the promotion of civic virtue, and he attempted to deemphasize the lingering scholasticism of Aberdeen. After leaving Aberdeen, he became a leading latitudinarian, eventually being named chaplain to the Prince of Wales in 1741.

In the *Principles* Turnbull argues that moral phenomena must, like natural phenomena, be explained by general laws. Moral philosophy is a science of human nature, subject to observation and reasoning. He had traveled on the Continent and was influenced by the natural law tradition he found there, for instance arguing that we form "an obligation to benevolence from experiencing the potential for benevo-

lence within us, and from seeing its place in the wisdom and order of the universe and its tendency to advance the perfection of the whole." (D18BP, p. 902)

Turnbull's "engagement with all these new trends in a single body of writing – deism, Berkeleyanism, liberty in religion, the reform of education, the moral basis of art, moral law, the restoration of civic virtue – has given him an interest for modern scholars which he could not claim in his lifetime, when most of his books were remaindered. Binding them together is a consistent methodology in which all studies can be reduced to laws by a combination of historical and experimental study. Turnbull was already practising this before Hume conceived his own project of 'introducing the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects,' but significantly, both were pupils of the same 'professor of natural philosophy and ethics' in Edinburgh, Robert Steuart" (Stewart, *Brit. Phil. and the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Brown, p. 278). Indeed, Turnbull, like Hume, was a member of Edinburgh's Rankenian Club and John Noon, his publisher, published the first two volumes of Hume's *Treatise* the prior year. The *Principles* is now quite scarce, ESTC listing just eighteen locations.

39 David Hume. *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being An Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects. Vol. I. Of The Understanding. Vol. II. Of The Passions. Vol. III. Of Morals. With An Appendix. Wherein some Passages of the foregoing Volumes are illustrated and explain'd.* Vol. I and II. London: Printed for John Noon ..., 1739. Vol. III. London: Printed for Thomas Longman ..., 1740.

David Hume (1711-1776) was educated at home until entering Edinburgh University in 1723 at the age of eleven, somewhat younger than was the norm for the Scottish universities at that time. He left Edinburgh in 1726 and was first intended for the law, which he abandoned in 1729, the church, which he had a natural aversion to, and business, which did not suit him. Hume began work on what became the *Treatise* not long after leaving Edinburgh, thus displaying an amaz-

ingly precocious ambition. He completed it in rural France, to which he had gone in 1734 to live inexpensively and to get away from distractions in Scotland. As can be seen from these few biographical details, Hume was largely self-taught in philosophy.

Although he began to achieve public recognition in the 1740s after the publication of his *Essays*, Hume's status as a well-known unbeliever led to his being rejected in 1745 for the chair in moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh for which he had applied. A second son with little capital, he was forced to take a job in that year as tutor to the Marquess of Annandale, who turned out to be quite mad. He next served as secretary to a general for two years, before settling in to making his living with his pen. From 1752-57 he was keeper of the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, a post that allowed him the time and resources to begin his great six-volume *History of England* (1754-62), the work which firmly established not only his fame but also his substantial fortune. In 1763, he was appointed secretary to the British ambassador in Paris, where the Parisians fell in love with 'le bon David'. From 1767-9 he was Under-Secretary of State in London, after which he retired to Edinburgh, where he had a wide circle of friends, and where he entertained guests such as Benjamin Franklin and James Boswell. He died after a long and painful illness in a manner that fully exemplified the stoic virtues that he had inculcated from his reading of the classics. In a letter (9 Nov. 1776) informing Hume's publisher William Strahan of his death, his old friend Adam Smith assessed the man: "Upon the whole, I have always considered him, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit."

Written before Hume was out of his twenties, the *Treatise* is now recognized as his greatest work and as the cornerstone of empiricism. However, the *Treatise* was never recognized as such in Hume's lifetime, or for long afterward. As Hume said: "It fell dead-born from the Press" and it was a commercial failure: "about 1760 nearly 300 copies of volumes 1 and 2, and 200 of volume 3, were sold at auction in two lots, and at cut-rate prices" (Norton, *Introduction to Hume's Thought*. p. 16). Although his authorship of the *Treatise* was known in some circles,

Hume did not publicly acknowledge it until late in his life, recommending even then that his later works be read as being more representative of his ideas. Due to its initial failure to sell, the *Treatise* is now very scarce. Keynes and Sraffa wrote in 1938 that: "The book comes up for sale so seldom that one may doubt whether more than one or two hundred can be extant." Quite often the third volume is missing as buyers of the first two did not bother to buy the third the following year when it came out under the imprint of a different publisher.

40 David Hume. *An Abstract of a Book Lately Published, entituled, a Treatise of Human Nature, &c. Wherein the Chief Argument of that Book is Farther Illustrated and Explained.* London: Printed for C. Borbet ..., 1740.

Hume composed the *Abstract* in response to the hostile and uncomprehending reactions to the *Treatise*. He originally intended it to be an anonymous letter to *The History of the Works of the Learned* but, dismayed by a long and abusive review of the *Treatise* in that journal, he decided to publish it separately. The pamphlet was noticed by the *Bibliotheque brittanique* for the first quarter of 1740 where it was first wrongly attributed. It was not until John Maynard Keynes acquired a copy and published a facsimile edition in 1938, that it was proved conclusively that the work was by Hume himself. The *Abstract* contains what Hume intended as the main argument of the *Treatise*, that is, the argument concerning causality, which he believed established that no matters of fact could be known with absolute certainty. His new approach was to develop an empiricist and naturalistic view of knowledge and the world, and to maintain that man was very much a creature of feeling as well as reason.

Since its rediscovery just nine copies of the *Abstract* have been identified: five in the U.K.; one in each of Ireland, Japan, and the U.S.; and this copy.

41 David Hume. *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals.* London: Printed for A. Millar ..., 1751.

After the still-born publicaton of the *Treatise* Hume was somewhat desperate for success. He was confident that the arguments of the *Treatise* were sound, but sought to find a more appealing form to convey his ideas to the reading public. In 1741-2 he published two volumes of *Essays: Moral and Political*, which were more warmly received by readers. In 1748, he published his *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*, an attempt to recast the core ideas of Books I and II of the *Treatise* into a more accessible form. The result met with success, so he turned his pen to the ethical portion of that work.

The *Enquiry* is thus a recasting, in a more elegant form, of the ideas in Book III of the *Treatise*, designed again to reach a wider audience. It met with similar success, and together with his accumulating collection of miscellaneous essays and what he retitled the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, it became part of his *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1753-6), which went through nine editions during Hume's life and many thereafter. In his autobiography, Hume wrote of *An Enquiry Concerning the Principals of Morals* : "In my opinion (who ought not to judge on that subject) it is of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best: it came unnoticed and unobserved into the World." This is the first issue with the catchword 'than' on p. 221 and the title dated '1751'.

42 David Hume. *Political Discourses*. Edinburgh: Printed by R. Fleming for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, 1752.

Of this work, Hume wrote in his autobiography that it was: "The only work of mine, that was successful on the first publication: it was well received abroad and at home." Nine of the twelve discourses, or essays, are on economics, a subject with which he was well acquainted. In addition to his close friend Adam Smith, he corresponded with, among others, Montesquieu, Turgot, and Oswald. More importantly, Hume saw economic and political phenomena, dependent as they

were on the passions, as yielding to his science of human nature. He wrote: "It is more easy to account for the rise and progress of commerce in any kingdom, than for that of learning; and a state, which should apply itself to the encouragement of the one, would be more assured of success, than one which should cultivate the other. Avarice, or the desire of gain, is an universal passion, which operates at all times, in all places, and upon all persons: But curiosity, or the love of knowledge, has a very limited influence, and requires youth, leisure, education, genius, and example, to make it govern any person" (*The Rise of Arts and Sciences*).

43 David Hume. *Scotticisms.* [Edinburgh?, 1752?]

Though proud of his Scottish birth, Hume supported the campaign to establish a standard form of English. To this end he went to considerable pains to expunge from his works any distinctively Scottish turns of phrase, which led Lord Monboddo to quip that Hume died confessing not his sins but his Scotticisms. The work was printed separately, but it is usually found, as here, bound with the *Political Discourses*.

44 Denis Diderot. *Principes de la philosophie morale, ou Essai de M. S*** sur le merite et la vertu : avec réflexions.* A Amsterdam: Zacharie Chatelain, 1745.

Denis Diderot (1713-1784), the great encyclopedist, was also a philosopher, dramatist, novelist, and art critic. In 1747, he became co-editor of the *Encyclopédie* with d'Alembert. Diderot became a slave to this task for the next fifteen years (d'Alembert withdrew in 1758), also writing more articles than any other contributor. The *Encyclopédie* was condemned by both State and Church and, for his own works, Diderot was briefly imprisoned in 1749. Well read in the history of philosophy, Diderot had an eclectic blend of influences, including Epicureanism, Spinoza, Locke, and La Mettrie. Like the last he was a materialistic

determinist, but he nonetheless believed in the autonomy and dignity of the individual. Christianity had, he believed, a deleterious effect upon individuals and society.

The *Essay on Merit and Virtue* is Diderot's first original published work. It is based on a free translation of Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit* (1699), and is a clear precursor of Diderot's *Pensées philosophique* published in the following year. While adapting the text, Diderot found himself adding his own interjections and digressions and, in his notes, drawing opinions of Shaftesbury from other writings. The work is preceded by an open letter to his brother containing a critique of religious intolerance. Because of fears that it would be considered subversive, the book appeared without either Shaftesbury's or Diderot's names and with a fictitious Amsterdam imprint. The plates and vignettes are by Durand (engraved by Fessard).

45 Étienne Bonnot de Condillac. *Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines, ouvrage ou l'on réduit à un seul principe tout ce qui concerne l'entendement humain*. A Amsterdam: Chez Pierre Mortier, 1746.

Condillac (1714-1780) was ordained as a priest in 1740, but is said to have celebrated mass only once in his life and to have otherwise neglected his priestly duties. From a wealthy family, he instead studied and wrote. He spent 1758-67 in Italy as tutor to the prince of Parma. Condillac was greatly influenced by Locke, although he could only read him in translation. Like Locke, he believed experience was the only source of human knowledge, and sought to expand the range of studies to which empirical enquiry could be employed.

An Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge, his first major work, was followed by *Traité des systems* (1749) and Condillac's most famous work, *Traité des sensations* (1754). The starting point of his philosophy was Locke's *Essay*, as indicated by the book's subtitle. Condillac's teaching remained the basis of French philosophy, particularly its empiricist school, until the counter-revolution and the triumph of Kant. He had a major influence on many others, including the Scottish 'common sense' school. In this work he deals with the origin of the faculties of

mind and soul, the acquisition of knowledge, and the role of language in transforming sensation into reflection and in generating the highest operations found in thinking.

Lebeau, in his work on Condillac, writes that it was with Diderot's help that the work was published by Durand in Paris under the veil of this Dutch imprint. It was translated into English in 1756 and appeared in a revised French edition in 1771.

46 Thomas Reid. *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense.* Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar, London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1764.

Thomas Reid (1710-1796), the founder of the Scottish school of 'common sense' philosophy, was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where his teacher was George Turnbull. He studied arts and then theology, becoming a minister in 1731. From 1751, Reid taught at Kings College, Aberdeen, and it was while he was there that he wrote *An Inquiry into the Human Mind*, which is chiefly concerned with laying out methodological principles that will serve to refute scepticism, particularly that of Hume. In 1764, Reid became Adam Smith's successor at Glasgow, a post he owed in part to Lord Kames and to the favourable notice given to the *Inquiry* by Hume and others.

There Reid developed his common sense philosophy: an important doctrine being that our belief in an external world is intuitive or immediate. He argued that although our sensory judgments are fallible, we are nonetheless justified in relying upon them. He contested the views of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume that the objects of knowledge are 'ideas', maintaining instead that objects of perception, not unrelated ideas, are what exists.

This book is Reid's first and it was a prime source for an anti-Lockean movement in nineteenth century philosophy, which had a wide influence, most particularly in America where Reid's thought had a special home at Princeton University. The first edition of the *Inquiry* is uncommon, NUC locating only three copies. After his retirement in 1780, Reid wrote *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1785) and *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (1788).

47 Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inegalité parmi les hommes...* A Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1755.

Rousseau (1712-1778) was born in Geneva, left a poor home environment at sixteen for a life of wandering, converted to Catholicism, worked to educate himself in literature and philosophy, and sought to make his way in Parisian society writing plays and music. He had minimal success, but he did fall in with the *philosophes*. In 1750, he finally achieved the success and recognition he craved by winning the gold medal of the Academy of Dijon for his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, which answered the question: Whether advances in the sciences and arts improved morals?

Some of the ideas he expressed there worked their way into this later work, which first invokes the virtues of a primitive time before society was formed. It too was written in answer to a question posed by the same academy, this time in 1753: What is the origin of inequality among men, and is it authorized by Natural Law? This *Discours* condemns contemporary society as upheld by a structure of false laws creating that inequality, placing blame on social order rather than religion as their source. For Rousseau inequality was the original evil, the one that causes and creates all others. He commends the state of nature at the expense of civilization. As he had denied that the restoration of arts and sciences had been beneficial in his previous Dijon prize essay, he now denied that the substitution of the natural state by social and civilized life had been advantageous.

This book has a complicated printing history, as five pirated editions appeared in identical imprints. This is the first issue, without the printed accent on 'conformé' on p. 11 and with three canceled leaves (5*3, H5, K3). The large Rousseau collection at the Fisher Library allows for the study of the bibliographical complexities of most of Rousseau's works.

48 Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Du Contrat Social; Principes du Droit Politique.* A Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1762.

The Social Contract is Rousseau's most important political work, which was instrumental in the development of the ideas leading to both the American and French revolutions. Liberty was for Rousseau the most precious of possessions, a gift which nature had made to men. They can no more be deprived of it rightfully than they can be deprived of life itself; nor can they be permitted to divest themselves of it for any price whatsoever. The social pact should not be interpreted as abrogating a right which Rousseau declares inalienable and inseparable from the essential character of man. He affirms that the surrender of rights is only apparent and that in the end individuals regain the rights which they appear to have given up. Instead of a surrender, they have only made a profitable exchange. The social contract is designed to secure or to restore to individuals in a state of civilization the equivalent of the rights they enjoyed in a state of nature, including the right of members of a society to have an equal place in determining the sovereign authority and the laws that emerge from the 'general will' by which a people rules itself.

This is the second issue, with *Du Contrat Social* on the half-title and a catalogue of Rey publications at the end.

49 Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *Émile, ou, De L'Éducation.* A Amsterdam: Jean Néaulme, 1762.

Along with Plato's *Republic*, this is perhaps the most important work on education ever written. The *Émile* was condemned by the Parlément of Paris to be burnt, it was also burnt at Geneva. In June 1762, Rousseau was forced to flee to Neuchatel because of it. Rousseau was convinced that man's original nature was good, but that it had been corrupted by society. To be good was to live in accordance with one's nature, and in *Émile* he seeks to trace the natural development of the human being brought up in the country away from the bad influence of social life.

Émile was actually printed by Duschesne; however, Néaulme was called before the authorities for his involvement and forbidden to sell a later edition he did print. The bibliographical issue points for it are complex. McEachern writes that the first edition was printed in both duodecimo, as here, and octavo formats, and that although the duodecimo was the first from the press, the octavo was the first to be 'published' ("L'édition originale de l'Emile," in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, I, 1987, 20-30). However, McEachern's *Bibliography of the Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau to 1800* (Oxford, 1989) gives priority to the duodecimo, but concludes: "the question of the order of printing has not yet been resolved to everyone's satisfaction."

50 Claude Adrien Helvétius. *De l'Esprit, or, Essays on the Mind, and Its Several Faculties.* London: Printed for the Translator, and sold by Mr. Dodley and Co. ...; Mess. Millar, Nourse, and Tonson ...; Mess. Hitch and Hawes ...; Mr. Fletcher, at Oxford; Mr. Merril, at Cambridge; and J. Coote ..., 1759.

Helvétius (Latinized from Schweitzer) (1715-71) was well educated and well settled in high government office (the lucrative post of *fermier-général*) when he decided that he wanted to produce something of lasting value along the lines of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748). The result was this book, which was first published in 1758 in French in Paris by Durand. It prompted immediate outrage, was attacked in Church publications and from pulpits, was condemned by the Sorbonne and by the Parlément of Paris, and then burned by the public executioner. The uproar was caused by the book's assertion that man is essentially a physical being and that all his faculties, including his mental powers, have their foundation in physical functions. Helvétius asserted that love of pleasure and fear of pain are the basic motivations behind all actions, and said that everyone is born with equal intelligence which then is altered by education and individual attitudes.

The book was widely read and, as one can see, quickly translated, and it has had a great influence. Bentham read Helvétius in 1769 and said: "What Bacon was to the physical world, Helvétius was to the

A

TREATISE

OF

Human Nature:

BEING

An ATTEMPT to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning

INTO

MORAL SUBJECTS.

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire, quæ velis; & quæ sentias, dicere licet. TACIT.

VOL. I.

OF THE

UNDERSTANDING.

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN NOON, at the *White-Hart*, near *Mercer's-Chapel*, in *Cheapside*.
MDCC XXXIX.

39 Title page to Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 1739-1740.

AN

ABSTRACT

OF

A BOOK lately PUBLISHED;

ENTITULED,

A

TREATISE

OF

Human Nature, &c.

WHEREIN

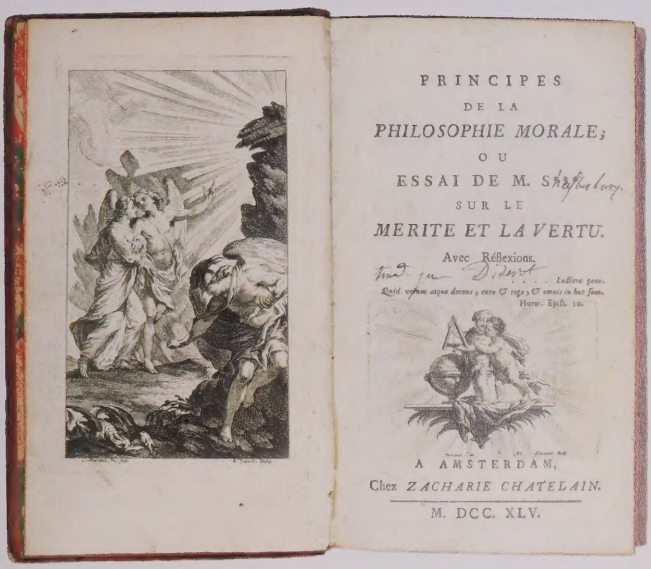
The CHIEF ARGUMENT of that BOOK is farther ILLUSTRATED and EXPLAINED.

LONDON:

Printed for C. BORBET, at *Addiſon's Head*, over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's Church*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*. 1740.

[Price ſix Pence.]

40 Title page to Hume, *An Abstract of a Book Lately Published …*, 1740.



PRINCIPES
DE LA
PHILOSOPHIE MORALE;
OU
ESSAI DE M. Shaftsbury
SUR LE
MERITE ET LA VERTU.
Avec Réflexions,
par M. Diderot.
Ludibria ventis.
Quid verum atque decens, curo & rogo, & omnis in hoc sum.
Horat. Epist. 10.

A AMSTERDAM,
Chez *ZACHARIE CHATELAIN.*
M. DCC. XLV.

44 Title page to Diderot, *Principes de la philosophie morale*, 1745, with engraved frontispiece by Fessard.

DISCOURS

SUR L'ORIGINE ET LES FONDEMENS DE L'INEGALITE PARMI LES HOMMES.

Par JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU

CITOYEN DE GENÈVE.

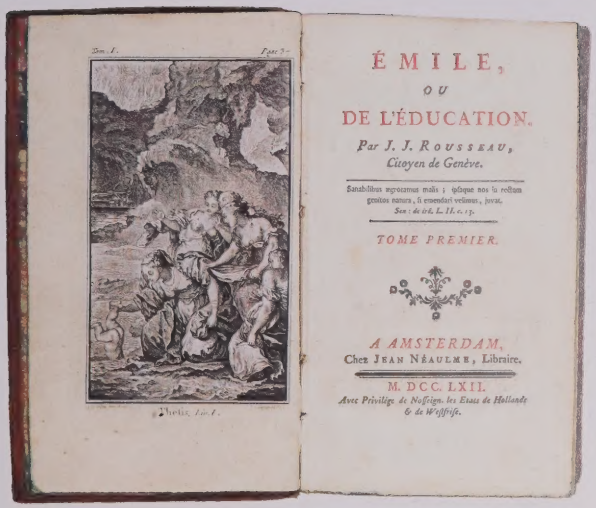
Non in depravatis, sed in his quæ bene secundum naturam se habent, considerandum est quid sit naturale. ARISTOT. Politic. L. 2.

A AMSTERDAM,

Chez MARC MICHEL REY.

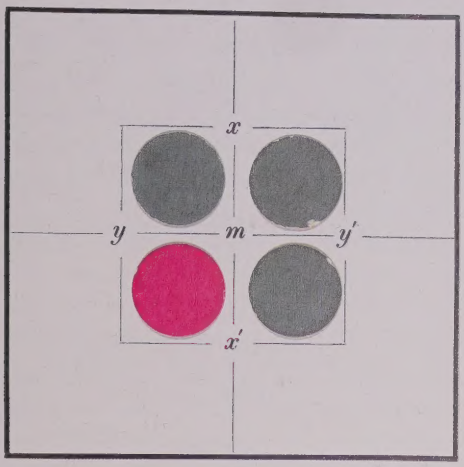
M D C C L V.

47 Title page to Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inegalité*, 1755, with engraved frontispiece by Sornique.


Tom. I. Page 7.
Prevost. Fec. I.
ÉMILE,
OU
DE L'ÉDUCATION.
Par J. J. ROUSSEAU,
Citoyen de Genève.
Sanabilibus ægrotamus malis; ipsique nos in rectum genitos natura, si emendari velimus, juvat.
Sen: de ira, L. II. c. 13.
TOME PREMIER.
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez JEAN NÉAULME, Libraire.
M. DCC. LXII.
Avec Privilege de Nosseign. les Etats de Hollande & de Westfrise.

49 Title page to Rousseau, *Émile*, 1762, with engraved frontispiece by Longueil.

61 Title page to Fichte, *Versuch einer Critik aller Offenbarung*, 1792.

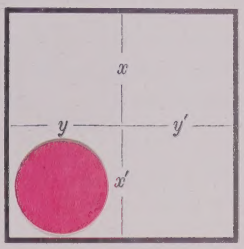


THE GAME

OF

"LOGIC."

Instructions, for playing this Game, will be found in the accompanying Book.



78 Game card and counters, issued with Carroll, *The Game of Logic*, 1886.

DIE

GEBURT DER TRAGÖDIE

AUS DEM

GEISTE DER MUSIK.

VON

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE,
ORDENTL. PROFESSOR DER CLASSISCHEN PHILOLOGIE AN DER UNIVERSITÄT BASEL.

LEIPZIG.
VERLAG VON E. W. FRITZSCH.
1872.

79 Title page to Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, 1872.

moral. The moral world had its Bacon, but its Newton is still to come." One presumes Bentham meant this latter role for himself. James Mill took Helvétius as his guide in his famous education of his son John Stuart Mill, for Helvétius, following Locke's doctrine that the mind was a *tabula rasa*, considered the differences among individuals entirely due to education, men being born ignorant, but not stupid; they are made stupid by education, including not only that they obtain in school, but that they receive at home and in society.

Privately printed, the English translation appears to be considerably rarer than the French first edition. This copy has the bookplate of the Earl of Ilchester and signature of Mary Teresa Stavordale.

51 [Paul Henri Baron d'Holbach] M. Mirabaud. *Systême de la nature, ou, Des loix du monde physique & du monde moral par M. Mirabaud* ... Londres [i.e. Amsterdam]: [s.n.], 1770.

Paul Henri Dietrich Thiery d'Holbach (1723-1789) was the foremost exponent of atheistic materialism and the most intransigent polemicist against religion of the Enlightenment. On settling in Paris (he was of German descent and had been educated at Leiden University) Baron d'Holbach associated with the younger *philosophes* who, with Diderot, d'Alembert and Rousseau, were grouping around the *Encyclopédie*, to which Holbach contributed some 400 articles, many on scientific subjects. His *Salon* soon became the main social center, and a sort of intellectual headquarters, for the Encyclopedist movement. Among those attending were Diderot, Grimm, Helvétius, d'Alembert, Rousseau, Boulanger, Condillac, Turgot, and Condorcet. He also counted many foreigners among his acquiantances, notably Hume, Gibbon, Smith, Priestley, Walpole, Garrick, Sterne, Beccaria, and Franklin.

In writing this, his most famous work, Holbach was probably assisted by Diderot. It is the sole example in the Enlightenment of a comprehensive, uncompromising defense of atheistic materialism. Holbach's strict determinism is purely scientific, denying any moral fatalism. The *Systeme* defines man as a product entirely of nature,

subject to the laws governing the physical universe which, in turn, constitutes the whole of reality. The work soon acquired the label 'the athiest's bible'.

It drew a sharp riposte from Voltaire in his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, while Frederick the Great also drew up an answer to it. It was condemned and burnt by the Congregation of the Index in France as a blasphemous work. Such was the contentious nature of Holbach's writings that he was obliged to have them published in Amsterdam by Marc-Michel Rey under the names of various recently deceased French authors, in this case Jean-Baptiste Mirabaud, after which they were smuggled into France.

The work was translated into English by William Hodgson (1745-1851), a radical politician who adopted extreme political views. In 1793, Hodgson was tried on charges of having proposed a toast to the French Republic and of having compared the King to a German hog-butcher. His translation delightfully notes this on its title page: "By William Hodgson, now confined in Newgate for Sedition, under a Sentence of Two Years Imprisonment, a fine of Two Hundred Pounds, and Securities for Two Years more in Four Hundred Pounds." This translation, published in 1795-6 and also held in the Collection, is extremely rare, there being no copy in the British Library nor any other major British institution and only a handful of copies in American libraries.

52 Adam Smith. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments.* London: A. Millar, 1759.

Adam Smith (1723-1790) is rightly acknowledged as the father of political economy for his great work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), however, it should be better known that he considered himself first and foremost a philosopher. He studied, under Frances Hutcheson, at Glasgow College and then at Balliol College, Oxford (1740-6). He then gave public lectures in Edinburgh on rhetoric, philosophy, and jurisprudence. In 1751, he was appointed professor of logic at Glasgow, but soon moved to the chair of moral philosophy, which he held until 1764. He next served as a travelling

tutor to the eighteen-year-old Duke of Buccleuch, a 33-month job that resulted in a substantial lifetime pension. During these European travels he met, among others, Helvétius, d'Holbach, Quesnay and Turgot, while gathering much of the material that made its way into *The Wealth of Nations* when it was published ten years later.

Moral Sentiments was Smith's first book, which to his death he also thought his finest. An immediate success, the book quickly had a second issue and eventually six editions, the last of which he revised extensively shortly before his death. Indeed, these revisions have led to its being called "Smith's first and his last book" (J. Z. Muller, *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours.* p. 96). It was warmly praised by Hume, Burke, Kant and many others, who were quick to recognise Smith's talent, and was soon translated into French (1764) and German (1770). Although little read now, it had a wide influence in its time. Besides, as Sir Eric Roll wrote: "We cannot understand the ideas of *The Wealth of Nations* without some knowledge of the philosophy of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*" (*History of Economic Thought*).

Influenced by Hutcheson and Hume, as well as Stoicism, Smith bases his ethics on our natural feeling of 'sympathy', which gives us an ability, as 'impartial spectators', to put ourselves imaginatively into the situation of others, and thus to assess their behaviour. His theory is naturalistic, in that moral good is seen as a kind of pleasure experienced in thus watching virtue at work. It is moral, because our object is the agent's motive of conforming to standards of behavior in society, e.g. not harming the innocent. As well, this moral attentiveness can be directed at ourselves and thus we have a basis for judgments not only about the behaviour of others but also of ourself, in the similarity we recognize in the virtue of the agent and in ourself as spectator. This common basis is also the foundation of jurisprudence.

Moral Sentiments was issued in April 1759 in 1000 copies and again in September in 750 copies (I. Ross, *The Life of Adam Smith.* p. 426). The presence of the 'errata' might indicate this copy is from the second issue, however, Letter 33 addressed to Smith from Millar referring to his receipt of the errata is dated 26 April 1759, and thus errata could have been included in copies from the first issue, as Millar refers to publishing the errata the "next week".

53 Edmund Burke. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley ..., 1757.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) is principally known for his career as a politician and his political writings, for instance *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) and *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). The highpoint of his early literary career, however, is this landmark in aesthetics. Born in Ireland, Burke had been educated at a Quaker school and then at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1750, he went to London to read law at the Middle Temple, but he never practised. Instead, he launched a career as a political commentator and then as a politician, first being elected to Parliament in 1765.

In this work, Burke examines empirically the sources in experience of our ideas of the beautiful and the sublime. He rejected neoclassical and other theories of beauty which based such ideas on a perception of 'order', 'proportion', etc., also Shaftesbury's doctrine that we derive aesthetic standards from observation and Hutcheson's idea of an aesthetic sense. Instead, he offers a careful description of what we can learn from introspection of our experiences of these kinds. He sees the source of the beautiful in what gives pleasure, and the sublime in an appreciation of that which threatens self-preservation. Here, he anticipates romanticism in suggesting how emotions can swamp reason.

A Philosophical Enquiry was published in "a rather small edition, possibly limited to 500 copies" (W. B. Todd, *A Bibliography of Edmund Burke*. p. 34), but received instant acclaim: Dr. Johnson called it "an example of true criticism," Hume "a very pretty treatise" and Reynolds, who commended only one modern work in his *Decalogues*, "the admirable treatise." Indeed, the book had great influence and success, seventeen editions were published during Burke's lifetime. It was translated into French (1765) and into German (1773) by Lessing, contributing thus to Kant's thinking on sublimity and beauty.

54 Richard Price. *A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals; particularly those relating to the Original of our Ideas of Virtue, its Nature, Foundation, Reference to the Deity, Obligation, Subject-Matter, and Sanctions.* London: Printed for A. Millar, 1758.

Richard Price (1723-1791) was educated at dissenting academies in Wales, where he was born, and England before becoming chaplain to a wealthy dissenter in 1748. This is his first book and his most important contribution to philosophy. In it, he surveys several contemporary theories, attacking Hutcheson's 'moral sense' theory as well as Hume's subjectivism. Instead, Price defends the objectivity and rationality of moral judgements, which he argues are founded on the nature of things and ultimately on God. The epistemological portions of the work are thoroughly developed, as Price's position requires a defence of our capacity to understand in these contexts.

Although it received considerable contemporary notice, Price's *Review* was largely forgotten until a recent revival of interest. However, Rashdall did write in 1907: "I regard [it] as the best work published in Ethics till quite recent times. It contains the gist of the Kantian doctrine without Kant's confusions" (quoted in D. O. Thomas, *A Bibliography of the Works of Richard Price*. p. 4). The first edition is extremely rare; it was limited to 500 copies, but even so, that cannot account for why so few copies are known. Thomas lists no American holdings in his 'census' (while his list of American libraries is not as complete as it should be, it does include the LC, Harvard, Huntington, Newberry, NYPL, etc.) and many major British academic libraries lack copies.

55 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. *Laokoon, oder, Über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie.* Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1766.

Lessing (1729-1781) studied philosophy, theology, and medicine at Leipzig before becoming a journalist in Berlin. He was influenced by the *philosophes*, particularly Diderot, and himself became a leading

figure of the Enlightenment and a German nationalist, while opposing dogmatism of all kinds. He wrote on a wide range of subjects, but was perhaps best known, in his time, as a dramatist. He wrote not only theoretical works, championing Shakespeare in contrast to French neoclassical drama, but also many plays of his own, including *Minna von Barnhelm* (1769) and *Nathan the Wise* (1779), the latter of which advocated natural religion over the orthopraxy of his times. Indeed, he was accused, variously, of being an atheist, a deist, and a concealed-theist, but it was his avowal of Spinozism, late in his life, that did much to revive interest in Spinoza. His major theoretical work in this area was the *Education of Mankind* (1780), which argues that no religion possesses the truth as each is but a moment in the history of mankind.

Laokoon, his great work of criticism and aesthetics, analyzes the differences between the arts of sculpture and poetry. It contains the first clear statement of the theme that each art is subject to specific limitations and proper functions. Lessing emphasizes clarity, simplicity, and the search for truth as guiding stylistic concerns, but rejects Winckelmann's classicism for an art free of formal restraints. He had planned to write further volumes, but these were never completed. The English translation by Robert Phillimore (London, 1874) contains the notes which he made for these volumes.

56 Immanuel Kant. *Gedanken von der Wahren Schätzung der lebendigen Kräfte und Beurtheilung der Beweise, derer sich Herr von Leibnitz und andere Mechaniker in dieser Streitsache bedienet haben, nebst einigen vorhergehenden Betrachtungen welche die Kraft der Körper überhaupt betreffen.* Königsberg: Martin Eberhard Dorn, 1746.

Even many philosophers who dissent from his conclusions, nonetheless maintain that Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was the greatest philosopher of the modern era. He was born, educated, and taught in Königsberg, a merchant city in East Prussia (now Kaliningrad and part of the Russian Federation). Raised in a family of limited means (his father was a master harness maker), Kant's intellectual abilities were

recognized early and he was assisted by his uncle Richter, a master shoemaker, so that he could attend the local University (the Albertina), which he left in 1746. It also helped that Kant was a highly-skilled billiards and card player, as his regular winnings also helped to sustain him. He then worked as a tutor in private homes (a *Hofmeister*) in the Königsberg area for eight years, before returning to the University where he lectured on a very wide range of subjects as a *Privatdocent*. His first salaried position did not come until 1770, when he was appointed professor of logic and metaphysics. During this period he published extensively on both scientific and philosophical topics. At about that time, a significant change occurred in his thinking and for the next decade he worked to shape his radically new 'critical' philosophy which came to fruition in the *Critiques* of *Pure Reason* (1781), of *Practical Reason* (1788), and of *Judgement* (1790). By this time, his fame and influence was great and his *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793) led to an official curtailment of his ability to write on religious topics. He retired from lecturing in 1797, but continued to write until near his death.

This, Kant's extremely scarce first publication, *Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces*, was written at the completion of his studies and not fully printed before he commenced work as a private tutor. Printing of the work began in 1746 but was not finished until 1749. Stuckenberg, an early biographer, said that because Kant was too poor to pay for the printing he was again aided by his uncle Richter. His next separately published work was a short dissertation published in 1755. Cassirer comments that despite *Living Forces* being a student effort, it shows great maturity and points forward to Kant's interest in universal method. "Here the question was no longer the discovery and confirmation of individual, definite facts, but rather a fundamental conflict in the interpretation of the recognized and accepted phenomena of motion in general; here not just isolated observations and data but the principles on which the examination of nature is founded... What is noteworthy in this maiden paper is that the first step Kant takes into the realm of natural philosophy immediately turns into an inquiry into its method... Kant called his first work...a 'treatise on method', as he later...termed the [*Critique of Pure Reason*]... The

change which the meaning of this designation had undergone for him comprises his whole philosophy and its development" (*Kant's Life and Thought*. pp. 26-32).

This copy bears a later presentation inscription, 22 April 1901, to mark the occasion of Kant's birthday, to the noted Kant scholar and bibliographer Arthur Warda, from his friend R. Reicke, another Kant scholar, whose ownership signature also appears on the title-page.

57 Immanuel Kant. *De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis.* Regiomonti [Königsberg]: Iac. Kanteri, 1770.

Kant's inaugural dissertation *On the Form and Principles of the Sensible and the Intelligible World* was defended on 20 August 1770 as a result of his long-awaited (he had applied unsuccessfully for the chair twelve years earlier) appointment to the chair of logic and metaphysics at Königsberg. The work is transitional, looking back towards his earlier work, but, more importantly, being the first step in his critical philosophy. "It is not easy to over-estimate the importance of the *Dissertation* for a comprehension of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. It shows what the new conception originally had in view, and something of the impetus of the discovery still attaches to it... Here, we have the new philosophy in its youthful form. It is the long-sought new method of metaphysics, the transcendental method" (Paulsen, *Immanuel Kant: His Life and Doctrine.* p. 89). At the time of the publication of the *Critique*, Kant wrote to Marcus Herz, his respondent in 1770: "In the current Easter book fair there will appear a book of mine, entitled *Critique of Pure Reason*... This book contains the result of all those varied investigations, which have their origin in the concepts discussed under the heading 'The *mundus sensibilis* and *intelligibilis*...' (Cassirer, p. 138). Kant initially thought what he first intended to call *The Proper Method of Metaphysics* would appear shortly after this *Dissertation*, but over a decade was needed to work out the ideas that were later published in the *Critique of Pure Reason*.

This small book is of legendary rarity. Even Kant, in a letter to Herz, complained that the publisher/bookseller J. J. Kanter failed in his

responsibilities, publishing: "at a rather late stage and in only small numbers and, indeed, without even an announcement in the Autumn Book Fair Catalogue... It annoys me somewhat that this work must so swiftly suffer the fate of all man's efforts, that, namely, of falling into oblivion" (7 June 1771; AK 10:121-4). NUC locates only the copy at Cornell.

58 Immanuel Kant. *Critik der reinen Vernunft.* Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1781.

Kant's greatest work and possibly the most influential work in modern philosophy. The appearance of the first *Critique* had a tremendous impact on first German and then all Western philosophy. The noted philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), a close friend, spoke of the "all-crushing Kant." Heated arguments for and against his work took place, conservative opponents charging him with many sins, including atheism, and supporters seeing his work as the critical moment in a movement towards freedom of thought. Indeed, passions were such that "in Jena two students fought a duel because one accused the other of not understanding the *Critique*, claiming that he needed to study it for thirty years before he could hope to understand it and then for another thirty years before being allowed to comment upon it" (Manfred Kuehn, *Kant: A Biography*. Cambridge, 2001, p. 319).

Kant had been trained in the rationalist tradition stemming from Descartes, Leibniz, and most immediately, Christian Wolff (1679-1754), but he had also read Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. It was Hume's account of causality that "interrupted my dogmatic slumber and gave a completely different direction to my enquiries" (*Prolegomena*). Kant believed that his project and achievement were analogous to the Copernican Revolution, which had revolutionized thought by orbiting the planets about the Sun rather than the Earth: in Kant's case, he argued that before we ask what the nature of the world is, we must reorient our thinking, and first give a critique of our faculties: What is it possible for us to know? In particular, in the domain of metaphysics? Kant's revolution consisted in reversing the principle that our knowledge must conform to its objects; instead, we must ask "whether we

may not have more success [in metaphysics] if we suppose that objects must conform to our knowledge?" He argues that human sensibility, understanding, and reason play a crucial role in determining our knowledge of nature. Thus, rather than asking how sense impressions give rise to our ideas, as in empiricism, we must examine the conditions of our having the experiences that we have, for instance the experience of events in time and space or as being caused by one another. Finally, given this, it follows that we do not have access to a knowledge of 'things in themselves', which, as it were, would have to somehow come to us from outside the strictures of our own faculties.

59 [Sale catalogue of books from Kant's library] *Verzeichniss der Bücher des verstorbenen Professor Johann Friedrich Gensichen : auch die demselben zugefallene Bücher des Professor Kant ...* Königsberg: Gedrucht in der Hartungschen Hof: und academ. Buchdruckerei, [1808].

Kant died on 12 February 1804, less than two months before his eightieth birthday. He had never been a particularly healthy man, but he had also never suffered from serious illness. However, he was a hypochondriac and complained of numerous minor health problems, many involving his digestive system. Perhaps because he always felt he was on the verge of illness, he led a very careful and regular routine in respect of his meals, sleep, and daily activities, in order to preserve his health. As it turned out, he out-lived most of his contemporaries and all of his good friends.

For an academic who had begun with nothing, he left a quite substantial estate of 20,000 Thalers. (In 1770, Kant's income as a new Professor was 220 Thalers.) He was able to accumulate this sum in part because of his careful, though not-stingy habits, but it was due more to the wise stewardship of his savings, which Kant invested in the firm of Green and Motherby, Joseph Green (1727-1786), a British merchant long resident in Königsberg, having long been his closest and most trustest friend.

Kant left his books to another friend and dinner companion

Johann Friedrich Gensichen (1759-1807), a professor of mathematics. After Gensichen's death, his library was sold at Königsberg on 25 April 1808. Kant's books were the main attraction as can be seen from the cover page of the Sale Catalogue, which lists the books previously belonging to Kant on pages 3-15. They comprise 377 lots arranged in descending size from folios to duodecimos.

Eighteenth and early-nineteenth century book auction catalogues, in any language, are notoriously rare, and particularly so when they involve the library of a major intellectual.

60 Johann Gottfried Herder. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit.* Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1784-91.

Herder (1744-1803) studied theology at Königsberg and was a student of Kant. Ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1765, his friendship with Goethe helped him to gain an appointment as *Generalsuperintendant* of the Lutheran clergy at Weimar in 1776. He had a major influence on both Romanticism and the *Sturm und Drang* movement, and was closely read by Schelling and Hegel, among others.

Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Mankind is Herder's principal work and an important book in the history of ideas and philosophy of history. It is perhaps the first systematic exposition of cultural relativism, for he argues that it is absurd to impose a uniform pattern of interpretation on human history with all its diversity. Instead, a naturalistic interpretation of art, language, law, and religion can be given. However, such cultural analysis must not be reductionist, but holistic, that is, be understood in its historical context and giving full weight to the intentions of agents. *Ideen* has also often been regarded as a strong pre-Darwinian statement of evolution, as he proposes the struggle for existence as the causal force for evolutionary change. In this last context, *Ideen* complements one of the most important Darwin collections in the world – that of the Fisher Library.

This copy is of the correct first printing with the printer's slug 'Erfuhrt' at the end of Volume 1. Gunther cites two issues that are actually separate editions with separate setting of the type.

61 Johann Gottlieb Fichte. *Versuch einer Critik aller Offenbarung.* Königsberg: Hartungschen Buchhandlung, 1792.

After an unpromising start (he herded geese as a child), Fichte (1762-1814), through the generosity of a baron, obtained his early education at Pforta, before attending the Universities of Jena, Wittenberg, and Leipzig. Soon after, he traveled to Königsberg to meet Kant, who was somewhat unresponsive to his young acolyte. Fichte resolved to gain his interest with a sample of his own work, which he inscribed to 'The Philosopher'. Kant read and expressed warm interest in Fichte's manuscript of an *Essay Towards a Critique of All Revelation*, and afterwards found him a publisher.

Without Fichte's approval, however, the publisher Hartung did not mention Fichte's name on the title-page, which caused many critics to think the work was writtten by Kant himself – that is, that it was Kant's widely anticipated fourth critique on religion. Kant quickly clarified the matter, but the confusion added to Fichte's reputation and early fame. Among those who were impressed was Goethe, then an influential counselor at the court of Weimar, who proposed the 32-year-old Fichte for a then vacant chair in philosophy at Jena, which he held from 1794 to 1799, when he was dismissed on charges of atheism. Fichte then took up residence in Berlin where he helped to found the University of Berlin. He was a prolific author whose work moved sharply away from Kant's ideas to a transcendental idealism which anticipated Hegel's absolute idealism.

62 Dugald Stewart. *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.* London: Printed for A. Strahan, and T. Cadell; and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1792-1827.

Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) is credited as the person "with whom the Scottish philosophy of common sense acquired the dignity of an institution" (S. A. Grave, *Dugald Stewart.* EP). He studied at both Edinburgh, with Adam Ferguson (1723-1815), and for a year at Glasgow, under Thomas Reid. He was appointed professor of mathematics (1775) and

then of moral philosophy (1785) at Edinburgh, the former in succession to his father and the latter to Ferguson. Stewart was extremely erudite and well read, and he "lectured with such effect that he had become a European cultural institution by the time of his retirement in 1810" (Knud Haakonssen, "Dugald Stewart," DI9BP). Although largely forgotten now, he had a great influence not only in Britain, but also on the Continent and in America.

Stewart agreed with Reid that philosophers have gone astray when they reach conclusions that conflict with common sense. If that is the case, one must find either the incorrect premiss or the mistake in one's reasoning that has led to this result. He also insisted that philosophers should not invent meanings for concepts that have clear meanings in ordinary language. Well schooled in both mathematics and science he made significant contributions to the philosophy of science, and to political economy, where he highlighted, among other things, the dangers of democratic demagoguery and the potential for improvement of mankind through education and social reform.

It is very difficult to find complete sets of this work because of the wide spread in the publication dates of the three volumes (1792, 1814, 1827). In the final volume, Stewart explains: "Thirty-four years have now elapsed since the First Volume of this Work was published. At that time, I imagined that a few additional chapters would be sufficient for completing my Review of the Intellectual Powers; but the subject, upon a more narrow examination, has gradually grown so much...that it has at length swelled to its present magnitude."

63 Pierre-François Maine de Biran. *Influence de l'habitude sur la faculté de penser: ouvrage qui a remporté le prix sur cette question, proposée par la classe des sciences morales et politiques de l'Institut national.* Paris: Chez Henrichs, An XI [i.e. 1803].

Maine de Biran (1766-1824) originally pursued a military career, before retiring to a family estate in 1792 where reading, reflection, and writing were his key activities, although he also held high public offices from 1797 until after the Restoration. He worked constantly on a

project to complete a 'science of man', based at its core on introspective psychology. He found it difficult to complete this project, however, and published little during his lifetime, despite having entered into contracts with publishers to publish his *magnum opus.* Some of the works issued after his death are based on questionable attempts to edit his mass of manuscripts.

Maine de Biran's first work, O*n Habit*, received a prize from the Institute of France in 1802. In it, he transforms the epistemology of Locke and Condillac toward an inner-directed theory of knowledge, in which intuition and the perception of selfhood are seen as supreme and determinative aspects of knowledge, thus paving the way for the subjectivist philosophies of the nineteenth century. This and his few other works had a profound impact on the French intellectual climate. The first edition is very uncommon, NUC recording just three copies.

64 William Godwin. *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*. London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson ..., 1793.

William Godwin (1756-1836) was educated at a dissenting academy before briefly becoming a minister. He then joined a circle of liberal nonconformists which included William Blake and Thomas Paine. A relationship with Mary Wollstonecroft (1759-97), author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman...* (1792) led to her pregnancy and their subsequent marriage, which occurred despite Godwin's objections to marriage as an institution. Mary died shortly after giving birth to their daughter, also named Mary, who would herself wed Shelley and be the author of *Frankenstein* (1818). Godwin's literary efforts covered a wide range of topics and genres, including essays on current issues, histories, biographies, plays, many novels and children's books. He also became a publisher and bookseller. Godwin was a rationalist in that he believed that reason and the truth that could be reached through reasoning had a motivational force. He was also a determinist, arguing that rationality is determined and was as much a causal force as matter, indeed that mind being a higher force could triumph over matter.

The *Enquiry* is Godwin's chief work. "It was one of the earliest, the clearest, and most absolute theoretical expositions of socialism and anarchist doctrine. Godwin believed that the motives of all human action were subject to reason, that reason taught benevolence, and that therefore all rational creatures could live in harmony without laws and institutions. Believing in the perfectability of man, he thought that 'our virtues and vices may be traced to the incidents which make the history of our lives, and if these incidents could be divested of every improper tendency, vice would be extirpated from the world.' All control of man by man was intolerable and 'government by its very nature counteracts the improvement of original mind.' [These principles] lie at the roots of all communist and anarchist theory" (PMM 243).

65 William Paley. *Natural Theology, or, Evidences of the existence and attributes of the Deity, collected from the appearances of nature.* London: Printed for R. Faulder, by Wiles and Taylor, 1802.

William Paley (1743-1805) attended Cambridge University, where he graduated top of his class, before being ordained. He rose in the Anglican Church to be Archdeacon of Carlisle and subdean of Lincoln. A gifted teacher, Paley's works are known more for the quality of their organization and expression than for the originality of his ideas. His first, *Moral and Political Philosophy* (1786) endorses a form of utilitarianism. The second, *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794) is an exercise in revealed theology, where Paley sought to prove the reasonableness of Christianity based on the fidelity shown in the lives of Christ's followers.

The last and most popular of Paley's works, *Natural Theology* reached a twentieth edition by 1820. It is here that he argues for a universe that requires a designer. He begins with his classic example of our finding "a watch upon the ground" which we could not believe was simply a product of chance, like a stone we might similarly find, for the former is clearly something "framed and put together for a purpose." Just as a watch requires a watchmaker, so the universe requires a deity. Paley's arguments became a bulwark in the defense of religion from

the challenges raised by science. He gave the traditional argument from design new life in part by using facts he had earlier discussed in *Evidences*, but more importantly by the perspicuity of his style and his skill in argument. However, the theory of evolution which arose later in the century is generally conceded to have provided an alternative account for the many instances of 'design' that Paley found in features of the human body and other places. Ironically perhaps, Darwin had studied both the *Evidences* and *Natural Theology* when he was at Cambridge (1828-31 at Christ's, Paley's old college), initially accepting their arguments, before he took his fateful voyage on the *Beagle*. While he may have rejected Paley's answer, it was the need he felt to explain the seemingly ordered complexity in nature that eventually led to the theory of natural selection.

66 F. W. J. Schelling. *System des Transcendentalen Idealismus.* Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1800.

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775-1854) attended the Protestant seminary in Tübingen where he became a close friend of Hegel and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843). He was unusually precocious and although their junior by several years his star rose more quickly than theirs. He obtained his first professorship, with Goethe's assistance, at Jena in 1798. He ended his career, after several moves, by assuming Hegel's old chair in Berlin in 1841.

Schelling published his first work, *Über die Möglichkeit einer Form der Philosophie überhaupt* in 1794, which attempted to provide an ultimate foundation for Kant's philosophy. He was also influenced by Spinoza's monism and by Fichte's emphasis on the subject. Out of this mix he developed his *Naturphilosphie* which sought to account for the identity of thought and nature, concluding that nature was invisible mind and mind was invisible nature. Over his lengthy career the *Naturphilosophie* took many forms.

The *System of Transcendental Idealism* embodies the first, treating several philosophical themes, including the role of the unconscious in artistic creativity, and the nonrational powers of the subconscious

becoming in the work of art the fullest and purest product of the mind. Indeed art shows most fully the identity between conscious productivity (mind) and unconscious productivity (nature). Coleridge in *Biographia Litteraria* wrote: "In Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* and the *System des transcendentalen Idealismus*, I first found a genial coincidence with much that I had toiled out for myself, and a powerful assistance in what I had yet to do... God forbid that I should be suspected of a wish to enter into a rivalry with Schelling for the honors so unequivocally his right, not only as a great original genius, but as the founder of the Philosophy of Nature, and the most successful improver of the Dynamic system... With the exception of one or two fundamental ideas which cannot be withheld from Fichte, to Schelling we owe the completion and the most important victories of this revolution in philosophy."

67 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *System der Wissenschaft; erster Theil* [all published], *die Phänomenologie des Geistes.* Bamberg und Würzberg: Joseph Anton Goebhardt, 1807.

Born in Stuttgart, Hegel (1770-1831) attended the local Gymnasium or high school, before entering the Protestant seminary at Tübingen to prepare for the church. Although his interest in religious topics never died, he recognized early that he was unsuited to the life of a pastor and became a private tutor upon graduation in 1793, hoping in this way to have the time and means to study and develop his philosophical ideas. Having obtained a small legacy after his father's death, he moved to Jena in 1802 where his seminary friend Schelling, who had become professor of philosophy in succession to Fichte, helped him to become a *Privatdocent.* For a brief period they published a journal together. Although Hegel became an Extraordinary Professor in 1805, he had to abandon this in 1806 due to personal issues (he was short of funds and had impregnated his landlord's wife) and the temporary closure of the University which followed Napoleon's defeat of Prussia at Jena. In 1807 he took a job as a newspaper editor, and in the following year a position as rector and professor at a Gymnasium in Nuremberg. It was only

in 1816, that he was called back to university teaching, to Heidelberg, which he left for his final position as holder of a chair in philosophy at Berlin in 1818. There, his lectures were widely attended, and he became a national institution. He died as a result of a cholera epidemic.

The *Phenomenology of Spirit* is Hegel's first major work, and is generally considered his most important. "It begins with a dialectical discussion of sense perception in which it is argued that knowledge of physical things presupposes the view that the physical world consists of forces interacting according to laws... Knowledge of such a world is really a type of self-knowledge, since in penetrating to the forces behind phenomena we become aware of what we ourselves have devised and put there" (EP III, 438). However, Hegel's thinking subject turns out to be monistic, i.e. one unique thinking subject. This leads to a highly systematic philosophy, paralleling the development of *Geist* or Spirit in reality. In the Preface he states that "the true is the whole" and thus only in the complete system are contradictions sufficiently resolved. Indeed, the completed system does not correspond with reality, it *is* reality. That is to say, Hegel is what is known as an objective idealist.

The *Phenomenology* has perhaps had as great an influence on subsequent thought as any single work of philosophy. Hegel spawned not only orthodox followers, but others, such as Karl Marx (1818-83), who, while breaking away from his thought, were deeply influenced by it. There have been Young Hegelians, Neo-Hegelians, British and American Hegelians, and many other derivative schools including key aspects of Existentialism. Most were stimulated by the ideas first propounded here and later developed in Hegel's *Logic* (1812-6) and *Encyclopedia* (1817).

The first edition is quite uncommon, as it was issued in an edition of only 750 copies.

68 George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse : zum Gebrauch seiner Vorlesungen* ... Heidelberg: August Ostwald, 1817.

The Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences in Outline is "the only complete, matured, and authentic statement of Hegel's philosophical system." So stated, William Wallace (1843-97) whose widely praised and long used translation of the first part, the "Lesser Logic", was first published in 1874. However, as the *Encyclopaedia* is only an outline, intended as a textbook for the guidance of Hegel's students, who were also attending his lectures, it requires reference to his other works for its full understanding. Hegel does not so much change the ideas of the *Phenomenology* or *Logic* as develop and elucidate them in new examples and in wider contexts. But, particularly in this first edition, its paragraphs can be extremely brief, because Hegel intended to expand upon them in his lectures. In later editions, Hegel added Remarks to these paragraphs which were intended to help non-student readers capture the sense of a paragraph.

The *Encylopaedia* is divided into three parts: the Logic occupying pages 1-126; the Philosophy of Nature pages 127-204; and the Philosophy of Mind pages 205-88. The first parallels his *Logic* (1812-16) and is sometimes known as the "Lesser Logic" in contrast with that larger, earlier work; the second is substantially new material which develops Hegel's ideas in the context of the developing natural sciences, with which he was very well informed; and the third treats topics covered in the *Phenomenology* (1807). A second edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was published in 1827 in a greatly expanded form (xlii + 534 pages), also in Heidelberg; and in 1830 a third edition was published with a slight increase in pages (lviii + 600) ("Bibliographical Notice", *Hegel's Logic*. Oxford, 1975).

The noted philosopher Harold H. Joachim's (1868-1938) copy with his signature, dated Merton College, Oxford, July 1894.

69 George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse.* Berlin: Nicolai, 1821.

The *Foundations of the Philosophy of Right or Natural Right and Political Science in Outline* was also intended as a textbook to accompany

Hegel's lectures. The term 'recht' covers not only jurisprudence but political theory and moral philosophy.

Hegel gives us a "complete system, in which the concept of a sociology dominated by the idea of a state is laid down. It turns away from the apparent chaos of the democratic advocates of individual right in favour of an overwhelming sense that liberty cannot exist apart from order, and that the vital connexion of all parts of the body politic is the source of all good. As the family is, without contract, the instinctive realization of the moral life, so, equally without contract, the State is the fullest expression of the moral spirit, where interdependence is combined with free will. The State is the perfection of man as a finite entity, whence the spirit moves into the absolute existence of art, religion and philosophy" (PMM 283).

The work had a great influence on the Young Hegelians, who split into 'left' and 'right' Hegelians, the former group including Marx, who later wrote a *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'* (written ca. 1843, but not published until after Marx's death). The right Hegelians, in contrast, endorsed what they interpreted, perhaps mistakenly, as Hegel's approval of the undemocratic, hierarchical, authoritarian Prussian state. In fact, Hegel was more likely a cautious liberal, fearing the results of disorder and political fanaticism, but recognizing that each state has a unique history and the potential for progress.

70 Arthur Schopenhauer. *Ueber die vierfache Wurzel des Satzes vom zureichenden Grunde: eine philosophische Abhandlung von Arthur Schopenhauer, Doctor der Philosophie.* Rudolfstadt: Commission der Hof. Buch. und Kunsthandlung, 1813.

Schopenhauer (1788-1860) was the son of a wealthy Danzig merchant. Originally intended for the family firm, he received a very cosmopolitan private education and only entered the Universities of Göttingen and Berlin after his father's premature death. He read widely, but derived little from the lecturers (e.g. Fichte) who he heard there. Having private means he was able to devote his life to study and writing. His major works were first published when he was still quite young, but neither attention nor fame came until very late in his life,

when his oddly titled collection of more popular studies and essays, *Parerga und Paralipomena* (1851), was noticed critically by the Englishman John Oxenford (1812-77) in *The Westminster Review* for April 1853. His article: "Iconoclasm in German Philosophy" was in turn noticed and translated into German, with the result that Schopenhauer was 'discovered' forty years after he published the *Fourfold Root*. That this lack of attention never stifled his quest to develop his ideas says much for his dedication to philosophy.

On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason is his doctoral dissertation, which takes as its theme the Principle of Sufficient Reason: that is, that nothing is without a ground or reason why it is rather than is not. Schopenhauer delineates four distinct kinds of explanatory principle: the sufficient reason of becoming, of knowing, of being, and of acting. In the work there is a detailed and powerful discussion of causality, in which he criticizes Kant's treatment of causality. Although this is an early work, Schopenhauer advised, to the end of his life, the need to read the *Fourfold Root* as a propaedeutic to understanding his mature philosophy.

This copy has a remarkable association. Schopenhauer's father first placed him in the firm of his friend, the merchant magnate Jakob Kabrun (1759-1814) in Danzig, after the family's return from a lengthy tour of Europe and England (September to December 1804). After which, he was apprenticed in 1805 to the merchant Jenisch in Hamburg, from which apprenticeship he was released in May 1807, at which time he began preparing for university entrance. This copy bears Schopenhauer's presentation inscription to Kabrun on its pastedown endpaper: "Herrn Consul Kabrun, als ein Zeichen seiner Hochactung und Ergenbeit / vom Verfasser."

Both copies of Schopenhauer's thesis and indeed any presentation copies of his works are quite rare – there were only 500 copies of this work printed, these at Schopenhauer's own expense, so little is known as to how many were actually sold. Other copies were presented to Goethe, a social friend of his mother Joanna Schopenhauer, Wolf (the Greek scholar), Schleiermacher, Reinhold, Schulze (his philosophy teacher at Göttingen), and Fromann (a Jena bookseller/publisher). Schopenhauer revised the work extensively for a second edition of 1847.

71 Arthur Schopenhauer. *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung: vier Bücher, nebst einem Anhange, der die Kritik der Kantischen Philosophie enthält.* Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1819.

The World as Will and Representation is Schopenhauer's *magnum opus*, begun when he was twenty-four and finished when he was thirty. It was published in December 1818 and sold no more than 100 copies, the remainder being scrapped. As a result it is very rare. For a second edition of 1844, Schopenhauer added a second volume of similar length which consists of essays supplementary to the chapters of the first volume. There was another revision for a third edition of 1859. These editions are in the Collection, indeed, all of the lifetime editions of Schopenhauer's various writings are included.

Never lacking in self-esteem if not arrogance, Schopenhauer believed that he had solved all major philosophical problems and indeed delineated the nature of existence and reality. He was influenced by his reading of Plato, Kant, whom he held in great esteem although he sharply criticized aspects of his work, and Buddhism, themes from which he was influential in introducing to Europe. In contrast to Kant, who asserted that we could not give an ultimate metaphysical account of reality, Schopenhauer argues that the world is Will, which he describes as a multi-faceted force or striving present in nature, which has a multitude of manifestations at various levels of reality. We, for example, are fundamentally willing beings, driven by an unchosen will for life. His philosophy is pessimistic, in that he holds, like Buddhism, that this ceaseless striving inevitably leads to suffering. Salvation can only come through a denial of the will. It is only through art, that one can temporarily suspend one's attachment to the world and attain release from willing. Music, in particular, directly manifests the nature of will.

Schopenhauer's work has profoundly influenced the history of ideas and culture more broadly, for here is the dark side of the nineteenth century, from which emerge Dostoevsky, Nietzsche, Freud, the forerunners of modernism, and a large body of literary, musical, and artistic work, including such figures as Wagner, Mahler, Tolstoy,

Turgenev, Zola, Proust, Hardy, Conrad, and Eliot. For example, Wagner wrote in his Autobiography: "For years Schopenhauer's book was never completely out of my mind...I had studied it from cover to cover four times. It had a radical influence on my whole life." Similarly, Tolstoy wrote to his friend Fet: "You said that he wrote something or other on philosophical subjects, not too badly. What do you mean, something or other? It's the whole world in an incredibly clear and beautiful reflection." Or, Thomas Mann in his semi-autobiographical novel *Buddenbrooks*: "in which, sixteen years ago I lay stretched all day on the curiously shaped chair or sofa reading *The World as Will and Representation*. Lonely, undisciplined youth, yearning for both life and death – how it swallowed the magical potion of this metaphysics, whose deepest being is eroticism, and in which I recognized the spiritual source of Wagner's *Tristan* music! One only reads once like that, it never recurs."

72 John Stuart Mill. *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, Being a Connnected View of the Principles of Evidence, and the Methods of Scientific Investigation.* London: John W. Parker ..., 1843.

Mill (1806-1873) had no formal schooling but was educated by his father, James Mill (1773-1836), a noted philosopher, economist, and historian, in what can only be described as a hothouse atmosphere: he began studying Greek at three and, among other works, had read all of Herodotus by the time he was eight; before he was thirteen he had studied mathematics through differential calculus; he studied logic intensively beginning at twelve; and when he was thirteen his father took him "through a complete course of political economy", as Mill describes it in his *Autobiography* (1873), which included not only his father's lectures but also a thorough study of Smith and, especially, Ricardo. Mill survived, though with some emotional scars. He entered the East India Company, where his father had long been employed, at the age of eighteen and remained there until 1858.

A System of Logic gave a remarkably ambitious start to Mill's project of restating the empiricist and utilitarian position advocated by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and his circle, which included James Mill. The younger Mill held that all our beliefs, desires, and purposes were formed through psychological laws of association. Indeed, he even maintained that logic was grounded on experience. Induction, contra Hume, was justified as it was our basic inferential practice and is progressively established by experience which supports our reliance upon it. Indeed, generalization from experience is our source of scientific knowledge, not deduction from intuited premises as rationalists held. Mill concedes, however, that this can never be sufficient to eliminate all doubt.

The book had a huge success, and was adopted as a text at Oxford and then at Cambridge. But its readership went far beyond the universities. Among other things, Mill held that the philosophy of experience would encourage the development of a society built on liberal foundations. Therefore, it was important to show that empiricism was a better alternative to non-progressive schools, such as Scottish common-sense philosophy and German idealism. During Mill's lifetime, the work reached an eighth edition (1872). Much read, it is rare to find a first edition set in this original state.

73 George Bentham. *Outline of a New System of Logic, with A Critical Examination of Dr. Whateley's Elements of Logic*. London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827.

George Bentham (1800-1884), Jeremy Bentham's nephew, was perhaps the greatest systematic botanist of the nineteenth century and worked with Hooker on the 'Genera Plantarum' (1862-83). In *Outline*, which is largely a criticism of Whately's *Logic*, the principle of the quantification of the predicate was first explicitly stated. Stanley Jevons declared this to be "undoubtedly the most fruitful discovery made in abstract logical science since the time of Aristotle" (DNB). Before sixty copies had been sold, the publisher became bankrupt and the stock went for

wastepaper, the book passing largely unnoticed until Bentham's claim to priority over Sir William Hamilton was pointed out by Herbert Spencer.

It is extremely scarce and most of the surviving copies have presentation inscriptions; in this case, to Lord Colchester. With the bookplate of the Constitutional Club Library noting the gift from Lord Colchester in 1887.

74 Augustus de Morgan. *Formal Logic, or The Calculus of Inference, Necessary and Probable.* London: Taylor and Walton, 1847.

De Morgan (1806-1871) was born in Madras, the son of a Colonel in the service of the East India Company, but soon moved to England. He was educated privately before entering Cambridge at the age of sixteen to study mathematics. He gained a Trinity College scholarship in 1825, but, as a conscientious objector to the theological tests then incumbent on holders of fellowships, he was forced to leave Cambridge and he entered Lincoln's Inn to study law. However, in 1828 University College, London was established and De Morgan was soon lecturing on mathematics, at the age of twenty-two. He was a spectacular teacher, giving from brief notes extempore lectures involving lengthy pieces of mathematical reasoning and proofs.

He wrote widely-used mathematical books on a wide range of subjects, but it is his work in logic for which he is now of greatest renown. He is one of several independent discoverers of the principle of the quantification of the predicate, developing the idea in a wholly original way. This work contains his development of the syllogism and has chapters on probability, induction, fallacies, and other matters. De Morgan's belief that logicians had ignored mathematics and that mathematicians had ignored logic, at great expense in errors, helped lead to the work of Whitehead and Russell.

75 George Boole. *The Mathematical Analysis of Logic, being an Essay towards a Calculus of deductive Reasoning.* Cambridge: Macmillan, Barclay, & Macmillan; London: George Bell, 1847.

Boole (1815-1864), the son of a cobbler who dabbled in mathematics, was himself largely self-taught. He did not start reading mathematics until he was seventeen, but by 1844 he had received the Royal Society's Gold Medal for mathematical analysis. With no university degree or training he was appointed professor of mathematics at Queen's College, Cork in 1848. In 1855, he married Mary Everest, whose father George has a well-climbed mountain named after him.

Logic received its first fully mathematical treatment with Boole. He was prompted to write this epoch-making book by the dispute between Sir W. R. Hamilton (1805-65) and De Morgan, whom Hamilton had accused of plagiarizing his theory of quantification. Boole's idea was that the laws of algebra can be formally stated without interpretation; this led him to conceive a limited algebra which he took to represent the necessary operations of thought, though it is better described as a calculus of classes in extension. He developed the idea more fully in his later and better-known work, *An Investigation of the Laws of Thought* (1854).

76 Max Stirner. *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum.* Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845.

In *The Ego and Its Own*, Max Stirner, pseudonym of Johann Kaspar Schmidt (1806-1856), proceeds from Hegelianism to its almost complete inversion in a doctrine that denied all absolutes and all institutions, and bases itself solely on the 'ownness' of the human individual. His is the ideal man who realizes himself in conflict with the collectivity and other individuals. Stirner's proclamation of individualistic anarchism exerted considerable influence over the modern school of anarchists in Germany and Russia. The revolutionary impact of this work lay in its insistence on peoples' individuality and their right to self-determination, a bold anticipation of the psychological

basis of Marx's class struggle. It caused Marx and Engels to write refutations in their *The German Ideology* (1846). From 1826-28 Stirner studied at Berlin where he was influenced by Hegel; he later reacted by becoming passionately anti-intellectual, stressing instinct and the will as opposed to reason.

77 Charles Sanders Peirce. *Photometric Researches, made in the Years 1872-1875.* Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1878.

Peirce (1839-1914) was the founder of pragmatism and is now considered by many to be the greatest philosopher America has produced, certainly the most original. The son of a famous Harvard professor of mathematics, Benjamin, he was himself educated at Harvard, completing a graduate degree in chemistry. He was precocious and under his father's instruction had read widely in philosophy, science, and mathematics even before leaving high school. An awkward personality poisoned his relationship with the powerful, however, and he held only one short academic appointment, at the newly founded Johns Hopkins University. Admired by a few, including William James, for years he led a solitary existence, but one that only after his death was revealed to be productive of perhaps the most original, wide-ranging, and seminal philosophical work done in America.

Although he was an extremely prolific author, *Photometric Researches* is the only monograph that he published during his lifetime, as he had difficulty completing philosophical monographs and his surviving work is almost all in the form of reviews and articles for journals or magazines or, sadly, uncompleted manuscripts.

The exhibited work summarizes important scientific studies that he conducted at Harvard College Observatory while working as an Assistant in the United States Coast Survey, for whom he was a long-time employee. It was published as Volume IX of the *Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College*. It is extremely scarce: RLIN records just four locations: Harvard, Michigan, Northwestern, and Yale; all of whom likely obtained their copy at the time of its original issue.

78 Lewis Carroll. *The Game of Logic.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1886.

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (aka Lewis Carroll) (1832-98) was a symbolic logician in the tradition of Boole and De Morgan. He "was attracted by the contemporary interest in the diagrammatization of the logic of classes, and he had read and appreciated Venn's seminal contributions. In fact he modified Venn diagrams by making their boundaries linear and by introducing coloured counters that could be moved around to signify class contents – a very simple and effective device" (DSB). Dodgson attached special value to this work, "as he hoped it would lead to clearer judgements in people who thought at all" (Williams *et al*, *The Lewis Carroll Handbook.* Folkestone, 1979).

Complete with the printed envelope, containing the game card and the nine original counters (four pink, five gray).

First, private edition, one of only fifty copies bound up from a printing of 500. Carroll, dissatisfied with this printing by Baxter at Oxford, decided to have it printed again in 1887 (somewhat revised) by Richard Clay and Sons. The fate of the other 450 copies of the 1886 edition is unclear (see his diary entry for 5 December 1886). The Fisher Library has one of the world's largest Dodgson/Carroll collections.

79 Friedrich Nietzsche. *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik.* Leipzig: E. W. Fritzsch, 1872.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) was educated as a classicist at Leipzig, where he was the philologist Friedrich Ritschl's star pupil. It was on Ritschl's recommendation: "with his great gifts...he will simply be able to do anything he wants to do," that Nietzsche was appointed as an associate professor of classical philology at Basel in 1869 when he was just twenty-four. That having happened, Leipzig quickly conferred its doctorate on him without the usual examination or dissertation. In 1879, he gave up his professorship at Basel, for reasons of ill health, but for the next decade he continued an extremely active period of writing before he collapsed in Turin, in 1889, while embracing a horse that had

been whipped by its coachman. Shortly thereafter, Nietzsche fully succumbed to the insanity (likely tertiary syphilis) that had plagued him for many years, and he was thereafter confined in the care of his family.

Eccentric, indeed erratic, in choice of topic and writing style, Nietzsche's contemporaries found his work difficult to comprehend. A few were moved and became passionate followers. That has continued to be his fate; interest in his work waxing and waning through the last century. Unfortunately, certain of his leading ideas could easily be taken up and used, or abused, in ways that led to disdain for their originator; for instance, that of the Superman or Overman (*Übermensch*) and The Will to Power (*Der Wille zur Macht*) which found favour with certain Nazis. In the last decade, his writings have once again mesmerized a significant part of the professoriate and an even larger group of their students.

The *Birth of Tragedy* is Nietzsche's first book and his principal work during a period of intellectual attraction to the composer, Richard Wagner. Both were deeply influenced by their reading of Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*. The forward of Nietzsche's book is addressed to Wagner and the latter portion of the work is essentially "a rhapsody on the rebirth of tragedy in Wagner's operas" (Kaufmann). The theme of Apollonian (restraint, harmony, measure) and Dionysian (frenzied, drunken) elements and their synthesis which Nietzsche presents here continued to evolve throughout his later work. The arresting style of the book is highly unusual for what most assumed was intended as a scholarly work – it lacks footnotes or Greek quotations. This characteristic of ignoring established forms and reader expectations continued to characterize Nietzsche's writings. As well, the profound insights he showed into his subject (here and elsewhere) made up for any loss of scholarly apparati.

80 Friedrich Nietzsche. *Jenseits von Gut und Böse: Vorspeil einer Philosophie der Zukunft.* Leipzig: C. G. Naumann, 1886.

Beyond Good and Evil is the only one of his books for which Nietzsche actually supervised publication. "I am making an experiment of

having something published at my expense: assuming 300 copies will be sold, my expenses will be covered and I might be able to repeat the experiment some time. The firm of C. G. Naumann permits the use of its highly respected name" (*Friedrich Nietzsche Briefwechsel mit Franz Overbeck*. Leipzig, 1916, letter # 255). As it turned out, "ten months after its release, the book had sold only 114 copies" (William Schaberg, *The Nietzsche Canon*, p. 126), from a print run of 600 copies.

It contains 296 aphorisms, framed by a preface and a poem, and deals with a wide range of Nietzsche's interests in nine chapters. When writing it, he was at the height of his powers. The noted Nietzsche scholar Walter Kaufmann regarded it as "one of his most important books...designed to give the reader a comprehensive idea of Nietzsche's thought and style... The first edition has become a great rarity and has never been reprinted exactly as published..." (*Beyond Good and Evil*, 1966, pp. ix-xi).

81 Franz Brentano. *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkte.* Erster Band [All published] Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1874.

Franz Brentano (1838-1917) was born into a family of scholars. He attended university at Munich, Würzberg, Berlin, and Münster, making a special study of Aristotle, who remained his favourite philosopher. In 1864, he was ordained as a Catholic priest and two years later began teaching philosophy at Würzberg. In 1873, following the declaration of papal infallibility (1871), he resigned his position and left the priesthood. The next year he moved to Vienna, and in 1895 to Italy. He was a popular lecturer and academic advisor, and a multi-faceted personality: writing poetry and composing riddles, inventing a new defence of the Spanish Game in chess, and enjoying marriage, children, and a full family life. Brentano believed that philosophy ought to be an exact discipline that embraces scientific methods.

Psychology from the Empirical Standpoint is Brentano's most famous and influential work. In it, he undertakes what he calls "descriptive psychology", providing an account of the structure of mental activity.

Although he considered himself an empiricist, his method was not the experimentation of Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), but the careful observation of the very act of experience itself – a phenomenology of mind. He asked: What are the essential characteristics of the mental? And, into what categories can such phenomena be divided? Importantly, he argued that mental phenomena are distinguished from physical by their 'intentionality', they are directed to an object or refer to a content. We think about something, have a desire for something, and perceptions of something. That 'something' may be a mental content, or an imagined object, i.e. the object may not actually exist, but there must always be a something to which the mental act is directed. As to the categories of the mental, Brentano said these were exhausted by representations, judgments, and feelings.

82 Josiah Royce. *Primer of Logical Analysis: For the Use of Composition Students.* San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1881.

Josiah Royce (1855-1916) was raised in a small gold mining town, Grass Valley, California. He graduated from the young University of California in 1875, after which he obtained a traveling fellowship that allowed him to go to Europe, where he heard the lectures of Lotze, Wundt, and Windelband. In 1878, he received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins, after which he spent four years teaching in Berkeley, before obtaining a position at Harvard, originally as a one-year substitute for William James, but eventually as a professor. Royce is usually described as an absolute idealist. For Royce, the Absolute is a universal knower, God, who affirms all judgments and experiences all objects. Reality is the idea of a mind, and monistic because there is but one such mind.

Primer of Logical Analysis was written principally for Royce's composition students while he was a lecturer in the English department at Berkeley. Given its purpose and ephemeral character, it is not surprising that it is extremely scarce, RLIN records just five locations: UC-Berkeley, Brown, Harvard, Yale, and the NYPL. Royce continued his interest in logic, having a detailed knowledge of both traditional

non-symbolic logic and studying, lecturing, and writing on developments in symbolic logic.

83 William James. *Principles of Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1890.

Born into a family of substantial means, William James (1842-1910) traveled widely as a youth, which led to a somewhat unconventional education. His father, Henry (1811-82), wrote several books, primarily on theosophical/religious themes, while his younger brother, also Henry (1843-1916), was the famous novelist. William studied at Harvard and then in Europe, earning a medical degree. In 1873, he began teaching at Harvard, where he remained until 1907 teaching primarily philosophical courses, although he had set up the first psychological laboratory in America in 1875.

James was at the forefront of making psychology a subject of scientific study. The objects of that study, for James, are our thoughts and feelings, and the physical world with which we interact, and which we, most importantly, know. He accepted the dualism of mind and body, but rejected the idea that they could not interact. In the *Principles* he introduces the idea of a 'stream of thought', later known as the 'stream of consciousness.' Consciousness belongs to a self and changes in a continuous manner, even when interrupted, such as by sleep – when we awake we are aware that we are the same person. There are, as well, several senses of self: one's material self, including one's body; one's social self, which dictates our behaviour; one's spiritual self, where the stream of consciousness truly resides.

There are three printings of *Principles* with the 1890 date, Holt not adding an impression notice until the fourth in 1893: however, this copy is the correct first printing, with the advertisement leaf opposite the title page, in its eighth item reading "*The Principles of Psy- | chology*" and the next line ending "*Professor of*". In the second printing "Psychology" appears on one line and the second line breaks between "Professor" and "of".

The book appeared in late September 1890, James writing at that

time to his brother Henry, "the infernal thing is too long to sell well I'm afraid." The book was not only exceptionally long, but relatively expensive at $6.00 for the two volumes. Three hundred sets of sheets were sent to Macmillan in London for British sale, and it is estimated by the editors of the Works edition (Harvard University Press, 1981, vol. 3, p. 1577) that another 700 were printed by Holt. The surprising, to James at least, success of the book required a second printing by February 1891 and a third by November 1891. The many subsequent printings (fourteen by 1918) of the *Principles* were from the original plates, with corrections being made by James up to 1905, and thus there is but one true "edition".

84 J. M. E. McTaggart. *The Further Determination of the Absolute.* [s.l.]: Privately Printed, [1893].

John McTaggart Ellis McTaggart (1866-1925) was educated at Clifton and then at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1891, he became a fellow of Trinity where he remained the rest of his life. McTaggart made a detailed study of Hegel, which resulted in three published commentaries (1896, 1901, 1910) before he wrote his own major work, *The Nature of Existence*, which appeared in two volumes in 1921 and, posthumously, in 1927. He developed his own unique form of idealism, in which the real is envisaged as spiritual, as in F. H. Bradley, (1846-1924). However, unlike Bradley, McTaggart argued that Reality could only be understood as ultimately consisting of love. As Peter Geach writes: "McTaggart was sure that only one concrete representation of the Universe could meet the requirements [of thought]: the Universe is a society of perfect persons who perfectly and eternally know and love each other. In all the multifarious delusion that is our everyday life, love is the one element that is certainly not delusion, whatever cynical worldlings may think" (*Truth, Love and Immortality: An Introduction to McTaggart's Philosophy*. London, 1979, p. 17). To defend this strikingly odd belief McTaggart developed ingenious and detailed arguments, some of which, e.g. that for the unreality of time, continue to both attract and puzzle philosophers.

Of legendary rarity (RLIN lists only one copy at UC-Berkeley), this was McTaggart's earliest philosophical writing with the exception of a juvenile contribution to the *Cliftonian* on J. S. Mill. It was "Printed for Private Circulation Only", as noted on its cover, two years after McTaggart's election to a Fellowship at Trinity. In August 1894, he wrote in a letter: "It has been shown to one or two people who are rather authorities (Caird of Glasgow and Bradley of Oxford) and they have been very kind and encouraging about it. I felt almost ashamed to write it at all. It was like turning one's heart inside out" (quoted in G. Lowes Dickinson, *J. McT. E. McTaggart.* Cambridge, 1931, p. 37). Dickinson adds: "In this little essay he expresses more perfectly perhaps, and more freshly than anywhere else, the essence of his philosophic belief" (*Ibid.*, pp. 36-7).

85 Aristotelian Society. *Minute Books 4 & 5.* 1901-1936.

The Aristotelian Society was established in London in 1880 by Shadworth Hodgson (1832-1912), a non-professional philosopher, who served as its president until 1894. It is perhaps worthy of note that Hodgson was also one of the founding Fellows of the British Academy in 1901.

Initially, the Society was established to serve the needs of amateurs interested in philosophy. However, it soon became the leading forum for professional philosophers in London, and was drawing a considerable number of its participants from Oxford and Cambridge by the time reflected in these Minute Books.

Many groundbreaking papers were first delivered at the evening meetings of the Society, which meetings continue today, and at its Annual Sessions (held jointly with the Mind Association from 1918). Thus, this is a highly important record of the proceedings of this distinguished group of philosophers during a very important period for British philosophy, with minutes kept and signed by such luminaries as Bertrand Russell.

86 Bertrand Russell. *The Principles of Mathematics.* Cambridge: University Press, 1903.

Russell (1872-1970) was orphaned at four and brought up by his grandmother, the wife of the former prime minister Lord John Russell. He was educated by tutors until entering Cambridge in 1890, where he studied mathematics and, in his final year, philosophy. Originally an enthusiast for the absolute idealism of F. H. Bradley and the methodology of Kant, he sought to harmonize idealism's key principles with the sciences, particularly mathematics. This resulted in his first philosophical book *An Essay on the Foundations of Geometry* (1897) which sought to establish the *a priori* character of geometry. Soon, however, he foundered on his close study of Hegel's and Bradley's doctrine of internal relations. Together with his colleague G. E. Moore (1873-1958) he turned from Hegelianism towards a realistic metaphysics and the method of analysis.

This turn is embodied in *The Principles of Mathematics*, which some historians of philosophy contend is responsible for launching analytic philosophy, although aspects of the earlier writings of the then little-known Gottlob Frege (1848-1925) are also cited as the headwaters of this important philosophical approach. In 1898, Russell's teacher Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947) had published the first volume of his *Treatise on Universal Algebra*, hoping to complete a second volume that would comprise "a comparative study of algebras as symbolic structures." In 1900, he and his star pupil, Russell, went to Paris, where they learned Peano's new ideography for symbolic logic, which they saw as a way to reduce mathematics to its very foundations in logic. Thus when Russell wrote his *Principles* in 1903, he planned to give "a completely symbolic account of the assimilation of mathematics to logic" in a second volume (DSB). As their work progressed, however, the two men came to see that their respective second volumes would be practically the same book and they determined to collaborate on the work. The result was the famous, three-volume *Principia Mathematica* (1910-13), which is also held in the Collection.

In the *Principles*, Russell argued, independently of Frege, for logicism, that is the view that all of pure mathematics can be deduced from

logical principles. In laying the foundations for this exercise, he considered, among other things, the notion of a class, which was critical to defining 'number'. In the course of his investigation he noticed that the class of all classes was of two sorts: those that were not members of themselves, such as the class of horses, which is not itself a horse; and classes which were members of themselves, such as the class of non-horses, which is itself a non-horse. The first kind, 'ordinary classes', all have a predicate in common, namely 'x is not a member of x'. But Russell asked, what about the class of all classes that are not members of themselves, is it a member of itself or not? If it is, then it is an ordinary class, but no ordinary class is a member of itself. On the other hand, if it is not a member of itself, then it is an ordinary class because it is not a member of itself. Thus, the class of all classes that are not members of themselves is a member of itself if and only if it is not a member of itself. This became known as 'Russell's Paradox', which when communicated to Frege led him to say that his life's work lay in ruins, as the contradiction involved implied that all mathematical propositions, both true and false, could be 'proved' by his system. Russell's solution to the paradox was his 'Theory of Types', adopted in 1906, and incorporated in *Principia Mathematica*.

87 Ludwig Wittgenstein. "Logisch-Philosophische Abhandlung" in *Annalen der Naturphilosophie*, Band 40. Leipzig: UNESMA, 1921, pp. 185-262.

Lugwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) undoubtedly holds the title as the most charismatic figure in modern philosophy. He was born in Vienna, into a large, extremely wealthy, and highly cultured family, and received an early technical education there, before coming to England in 1908 to study aeronautical engineering. His interests turned to the philosophy of mathematics and he was advised by Frege to go to Cambridge to study with Russell, which he did in 1911. Russell and others quickly recognized his gifts and were captivated by his intense personality. With the onset of World War I he returned to Austria where he served as an artillery officer before becoming a prisoner of

the Italian forces. It was while he was in prison that he finished this work, later translated into English by C. K. Ogden (1889-1957) and published in book form as the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1922). Wittgenstein believed at this time that he had said all that could be said of importance in the *Tractatus*, and so from 1920-6 he taught school in Austria before designing a strikingly modern home for his sister (1926-28). In 1927, he resumed philosophical discussions with certain members of the Vienna Circle, before returning to Cambridge in 1929, where he lectured (1930-36). For the next two years he lived a largely solitary life in remote regions of Norway and Ireland. In 1938, he again returned to Cambridge being named Professor of Philosophy the following year, a position he held until 1947.

The *Tractatus* is probably the most influential single work in the history of twentieth century philosophy. A very short book, it was written in a difficult and unusual style, being composed of short, hierarchically numbered propositions, which are not presented as a deductive argument, but in a more oracular fashion. To this day, there are strong differences of opinion as to its interpretation, the mainstream seeing it as essentially a formal work on the philosophy of language and logic, and a minority taking Wittgenstein at his word that it is essentially an ethical work, outlining what could be said so that the ethical dimension of reality would, in contrast, be highlighted.

In the *Tractatus* Wittgenstein outlines a 'picture theory' of propositions, in which each stands in a one-to-one correspondence with a fact, or state of affairs, both having a common logical form. The world is the totality of facts so pictured. Complex propositions are truth functions of atomic (i.e. unanalyzable) propositions. In addition to that captured in this way, there are tautologies of logic and mathematics which tell us nothing about the world, but are useful in our explanation of it. Paradoxically, Wittgenstein said that most of what was in the *Tractatus* could not be *said*, but only *shown*. Among those things for which we must remain silent are the principles of ethics: "So too it is impossible for there to be propositions of ethics. It is clear that ethics cannot be put into words. What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence (6.42, 6.421, 7).

Wittgenstein was an inspiring teacher who demanded much of

himself and his students. His self-criticism was extreme, and the *Tractatus* was the only significant work of his that was published in his lifetime. After his death, the *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) appeared, although some preliminary studies of the themes of this book had circulated in typesript among his close students in the 1930s and 1940s, the *Blue Book* and the *Brown Book.* In the *Investigations* he rejected much of what he had maintained with confidence in the *Tractatus.* Most of the other published works of his that we read today consist of edited notes taken by students at his lectures or thematically edited works drawn from the mass of fragments that he left at his death.

The original German edition of the *Tractatus*, having been published with the assistance of Russell in a relatively obscure journal, is extremely scarce. It is even harder to find copies with a strong association. In this instance, the copy has the signature of Herbert Feigl on the title page and his pencil notes and annotations throughout. Feigl (1902-88) was a member of the Vienna Circle from 1924-30. Indeed, a favoured student of Moritz Schlick (1882-1936), he was a co-initiator of the Circle: "As I recall, it was in 1924 that F[riedrich] Waismann and I...approached [Schlick] with the idea of forming a discussion group... The result was a Thursday evening colloquium... [In 1924-25] we read and discussed at length Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Logisch-Philosophische Abhandlung*... During Carnap's first year in Vienna (1926) the Circle took up a second reading of Wittgenstein's treatise. Wittgenstein himself, though he lived in Vienna from 1927 to 1929, never joined the Circle. He emphatically told the few of us (Schlick, Waismann, Carnap and myself) with whom he occasionally met (either in cafés, at Schlick's apartment, or that of my fiancée...) that he was no longer interested in philosophy. He felt that he had said all he could in the *Tractatus*" (Herbert Feigl, *Inquiries and Provocations*. Dordrecht, 1981, pp. 60-63). Feigl emigrated to the United States in 1930, eventually becoming professor of philosophy at the University of Minnesota. There he founded a distinguished center for the study of the philosophy of science and published widely influential writings on philosophy of science and other topics.

SELECTIVE LIST OF HOLDINGS

To assist scholars and others who may want a fuller list of the Collection's holdings, I have prepared this short-title list. It is arranged alphabetically within major periods. Prior to about 1870 the list includes most of the Collection's holdings, thereafter it is highly selective, chiefly because I still retain most of the English-language books published after that date, but also because including all of the books now in the Collection at the Fisher would simply make this list too long (e.g. six works of William James are included, whereas over twenty first editions have been given to the Fisher). In deciding what to include from this post-1870 period I have emphasized the earlier publications, books in foreign-languages, and unusual or uncommon items, as these are the holdings most likely to be sought out.

Manuscript materials such as letters are excluded. Because there are many anonymous works and fictitious imprints among philosophy books, I have shown the actual author(s) and places of printing when these are known to me. Where there is more than one place, only the first is given, and Latin place names have been translated. Bibliographical details are available in the on-line catalogue of the Fisher Library. Please note that because I continue to make additions to the Collection, the absence of a book herein does not mean it will not be held in the Collection at a later date. In summary, collectors and others should observe caution at any occurrence of the words 'not in Walsh'.

Albertus Magnus. *De natura ac immortalitate anime*... Nurembergensis, 27 June 1493.

Thomas Aquinas. *Summa theologicae, pars prima*. [Padua], 5 October 1473.

—— *Summa contra gentiles*... Romae, 20 September 1475.

—— *Commentum*... *Politicorum Aristotelis.* Apud Barchinonam [Barcelona], 19 December 1478.

—— *Summa theologica, prima secundae*. Venetijs [Venice], 1478

Anselm (of Canterbury). *Opera*. Nuremberg, 27 March 1491.

Johannes Duns Scotus. *Scriptum in quartum librum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi.* Venetijs, ca. 1476.

—— *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam; De primo principio; Theoremata.* Venetijs, 20 November 1497.

—— *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum.* Venetijs, 18 December 1497.

—— *Quodlibeta.* Venetijs, 3 February 1497/8.

William of Ockham. *Expositio aurea super totam artem veterem.* Bononiae [Bologna], 12 July 1496.

Aristotle. *Lib. Metaphysi XII*. Papie [Pavia], 1521.

—— *The Ethiques of Aristotle, that is to saye, Preceptes of Good*... London, 1547.

—— *Rettorica, et Poetica d'Aristotile*. In Firenze [Florence], 1549.

—— *Opera quaecunque hactenus extiterunt omnia*... Basileae [Basel], 1550.

Augustine. *De summa Trinitate libri XV.* Basileae, 19 May 1515.

—— *De civitate Dei contra paganos libri XII.* Basileae 15 August 1515.

Simon Goulart (the elder). *Morum philosophia historica.* [Geneva], 1594.

Diogenes Laertius. *De vitis, decretis, & responsis celebrium philosophorum*... Basileae, 1533.

John Philoponus. *Contra Proclum de mundi aeternitate.* Venetiis, 1535.

—— *Commentaria in Libros posteriorum analiticorum Aristotelis*. Venetiis, 1559.

—— *Commentaria super Libros priorum resolutorium Aristotelis*. Venetiis, 1560.

Plato. *Omnia opera*. Basileae, 1534.

—— *Divini Platonis operum a Marsilio Ficino tralatorum*...(5 vols) Lugduni [Lyon], 1550.

—— *La Republica*... Venetiis, 1554.

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